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INSIDE
EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
WEEKLY REVIEW

GSS holds planner of Beit Lid bombing

EVELYN GORDON

ABED Belbaysi, who obtained an injunction from the High Court of Justice against the use of physical force by his General Security Service interrogators, was the man who planned the Beit Lid bus bombing, the state told the High Court yesterday.

Belbaysi, who confessed this to the GSS last week, also said a third bomb was originally supposed to have been used in the attack, but since the third suicide bomber never showed up, this bomb was made for future use. The GSS retrieved this bomb on Saturday.

The GSS has been questioning Belbaysi since December 6. About two weeks ago, he petitioned the High Court against the use of physical force, including shaking, by his interrogators.

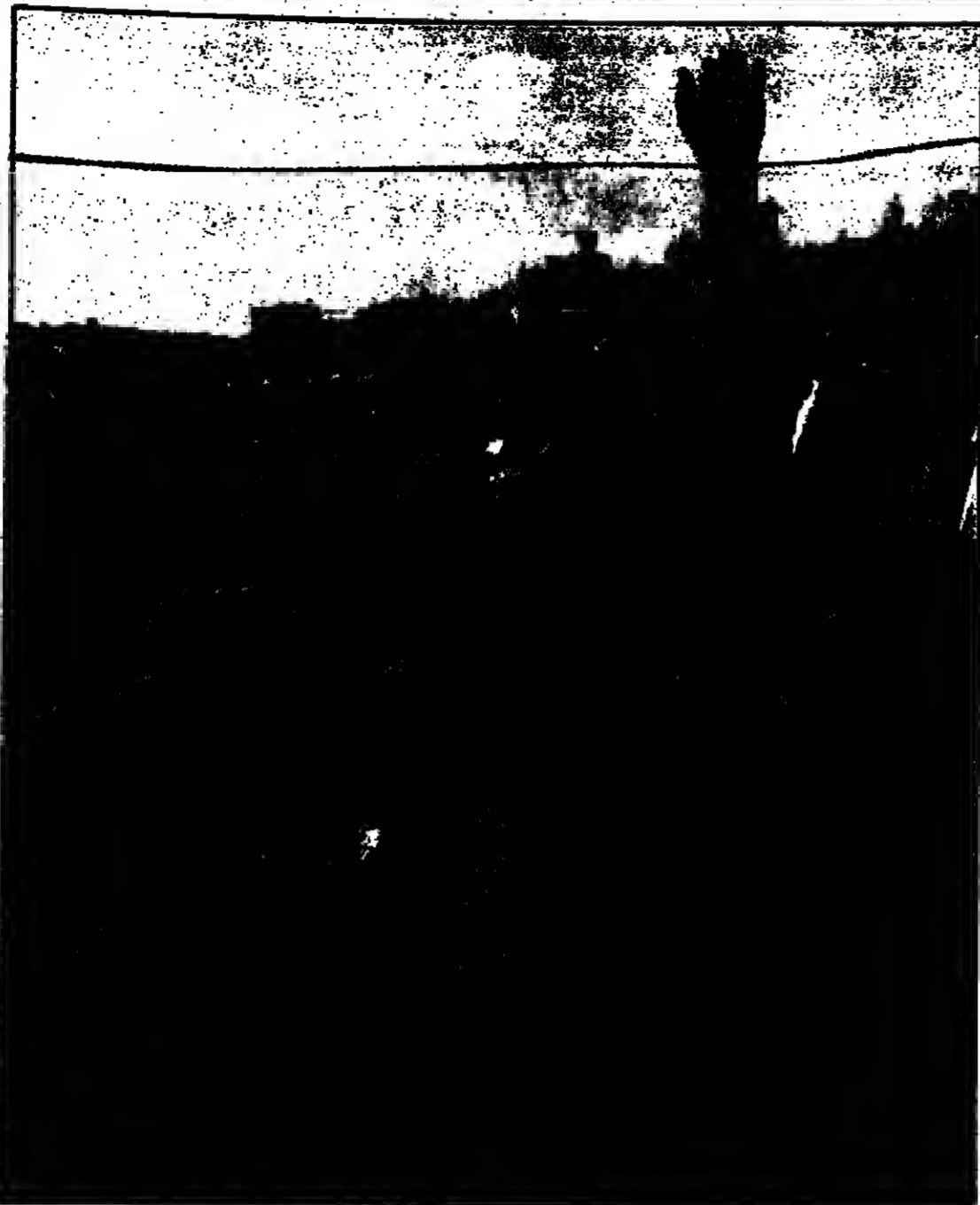
The court, unconvinced by the state's generalized response that Belbaysi was a danger to state security, issued an interim injunction and a show-cause order against any use of physical force against him. Belbaysi has since charged that the GSS is violating the injunction, which the GSS denies.

Over the weekend, however, Belbaysi's attorney, Andre Rosenthal, filed another petition, against the fact that the GSS refused to allow him to meet with his client last week. Rosenthal argued that this was illegal, because he was not informed as soon as the order banning a meeting was issued. Instead, he found out only when he tried to visit Belbaysi last Thursday.

In response to this second petition, however, state attorney Shai Nitzan told the court yesterday that Belbaysi had confessed last week to being the planner and organizer of last January's Beit Lid attack, which killed 21 people.

According to Nitzan, Belbaysi said he was recruited by Islamic Jihad toward the end of 1994, whereupon he promptly planned and organized the Beit Lid attack. In his house, he prepared three bombs. He then transported both the bombs and the bombers to the site of the attack, and dressed the bombers in army uniforms.

(Continued on Page 2)



A young supporter tries to scale a fence to get a closer look at Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat yesterday on his visit to the village of Dura, south of Hebron. (AP)

Arafat: Israel responsible for Yihye Ayyash's liquidation

Likud trying to delay vote on Oslo 2 endorsement bill

THE coalition is mobilizing against a parliamentary maneuver by the opposition which would postpone the vote on the bill endorsing the interim agreement with the Palestinians.

The bill must pass to allow east Jerusalem Arabs to participate in the January 20 elections.

One of the clauses in the bill is a legislative amendment to allow

voting in east Jerusalem post offices, as agreed upon in the Oslo accords.

The Likud last Monday declared the vote on the bill's first reading a no-confidence motion, automatically postponing it by a week.

Yesterday, it tried to postpone it by another week, arguing that the discussion has not yet finished

because Justice Minister David Liba'i did not reply to it last week.

The Likud claimed only at the end of the discussion can the no-confidence motion be declared and the week's delay take place.

Coalition chairman Ra'anan Cobeo, however, decided after consultations with Prime Minister Shimon Peres and legal advisers,

LIAT COLLINS

that the coalition would declare the vote a motion of confidence in the government.

This means the bill will have to be voted on today.

Assuming the bill passes first reading, the government will still be forced to sweat over it a little longer.

Between the first and the second and third readings, the bill has to return to committee for discussion.

The Likud hopes it will be forwarded to the Interior Committee, chaired by Yehoshua Matza (Likud), who would see to it that the bill is further delayed.

The government, however, wants the bill to be passed on to

the Law Committee, chaired by Dedi Zucker (Meretz).

The opposition has not ruled out the possibility of a filibuster or declaring both the second and third readings no-confidence motions.

Tzahi Hanegbi has filed hundreds of reservations on the bill.

Other Likud MKs are apparently filing similar reservations,

all of which would have to be heard in a marathon discussion similar to the recent mega-debate on the national budget.

To a meeting yesterday with Speaker Shevah Weiss, Likud faction chairman Moshe Katsav demanded Weiss call for a special deliberations committee to determine that the bill should come to vote only next Monday.



Policemen patrol Jerusalem's Central Bus Station yesterday. Security was tightened there and at bus terminals throughout the country to prevent terror attacks avenging the death of Yihye Ayyash. (Brian Hender)

Ayyash's death leads public to avoid buses

RAMI, a 23-year-old yeshiva student, said he wasn't scared, as he waited to get onto a bus yesterday in Jerusalem. Neither was Tziona, a 51-year-old grandmother waiting for another bus at the city's central bus station.

But the number of bus riders was down yesterday in Jerusalem and around the country, according to Egged officials, as the death of "The Engineer," Yihye Ayyash, rekindled the public's concerns about suicide bus bombings.

"On the one hand, we feel a sense of relief [over Ayyash's death]," said Yigal Nuri, Egged's Jerusalem central bus station director. "But we are also con-

cerned, because we know that buses may be a target of a revenge attack."

The number of riders seemed light for a Sunday. Egged officials said it was too early to accurately estimate the drop in riders, and company spokesman Ruo Ratner described the drop-off as "slight."

Last summer, immediately after the suicide bus bombing in Jerusalem's Ramat Eshkol, thousands of regular passengers avoided buses for weeks, costing Egged an estimated NIS 15 million, Ratner said.

"The death of 'The Engineer'

has put us on alert," Nuri said. "But our drivers are well-trained on how to handle such situations. There was no need for any special measures by Egged."

Ratner, meanwhile, said that while the government has done much to beef up security on buses, there is still more that needs to be done.

"More resources are still needed to prevent possible attacks on Egged buses," Ratner said.

Additional policemen have been assigned to the central bus station. Additional private security guards hired by the Transport Ministry are also on duty, and

will likely remain there in the coming days.

"I didn't feel particularly scared before 'The Engineer' was killed, and I don't feel particularly scared now," said Rami. "Look, Hamas is always trying to carry out attacks. It doesn't make that much difference whether 'The Engineer' is dead or alive," he said.

Tziona was more pragmatic. "I don't have any choice but to use the bus. I don't have a car and can't afford taxis," she said, as she purchased a drink before boarding.

"But I feel good today - that's what the death of 'The Engineer' has done for me," she said.

BILL HUTMAN

NEWS IN BRIEF

Woman, 83, killed by sanitation vehicle

Malka Migdal, 83, of Ramat Gan was killed yesterday afternoon when she was hit by a sanitation vehicle while crossing the street.

Migdal, who was not crossing at a crosswalk, was taken in critical condition to Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer, and died two hours later. The driver was detained for questioning, but later released.

Ra'i Pilanti, 31, of Nablus, was killed yesterday and three other people injured in an accident on the Trans-Samaria highway near Ofarim when her car was hit by a car and crashed into another car.

Small bomb explodes in Old City

A small pipe bomb exploded in Jerusalem's Old City yesterday, causing no damage or injury, as police beefed up security in eastern Jerusalem out of concern for a possible revenge attack for the killing of Yihye Ayyash, "The Engineer."

The bomb exploded at the entrance to a compound of homes occupied by Jewish settlers, in the Moslem Quarter just inside Herod's Gate.

Police said that hundreds of additional policemen were stationed in eastern Jerusalem and in other parts of the city following Ayyash's death. They are to remain on the job for at least the next several days, police sources said.

Tim

Bill Hutman

Ministers refuse to sign secrecy pledge

LIAT COLLINS

THE worst kept secret in the cabinet is opposition to Prime Minister Shimon Peres's demand that ministers sign an oath not to leak the contents of meetings or make public statements on issues not directly related to their own portfolios.

So far, two-thirds of the cabinet have reportedly signed the document, whose clauses include a maximum three-year prison sentence for violations. One of those refusing to sign is Environment Minister Yossi Sarid (Meretz), who criticized the oath as presenting the ministers as potential leakers. Sarid was careful not

to specifically criticize Peres, but said the right of expression is a matter of personal conscience.

Absorption Minister Yair Tzahar (Meretz) also opposed the document, while Industry and Trade Minister Misha Harish (Labor) criticized some of its wording.

Peres reportedly said the vow of silence will not be applied to statements on foreign policy.

Although Peres had hoped the ministers would sign when asked, he was forced to pass a special government decision ordering the

Human rights activist raps use of election observers

STEVE RODAN

A LEADING human rights activist has criticized the use of international observers to monitor the Palestinian elections, saying their failure to understand Arabic and Arab customs would end up merely bestowing legitimacy on ballooning that might have been rigged.

Karel Vasak, a professor at Brest University in France and former legal adviser to UNESCO, criticized what he called "the growing practice over the past years of sending international observers to elections throughout the world, where there is a risk elections will not be free or fair."

Speaking at a recent conference on democracy at Tel Aviv University, Vasak added, "Observers should not be sent where conditions for free and fair elections don't exist."

TAU President Yoram Dinstein agreed. He recalled that he had refused to serve as an observer during the recently held parliamentary elections in Russia.

"I don't speak Russian," he said. "What could I know? I would see a line of people who are ordered to put an envelope in a yellow box. As an observer, I would report that everything is fine."

Dinstein said the number of observers doesn't ensure free elections. "If the observers don't speak Arabic and don't know the milieu, if they lack local contacts and can't meet with people to hear complaints, they won't be able to see what is happening under their noses. We will probably get only English-speaking observers, and they will report that everything was perfect," he said. "And it's already not perfect."

Histadrut comptroller finds irregularities

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

SEVERE irregularities in the Hapoel sports association and the Histadrut's scholarship fund appear in the annual report of the Histadrut comptroller, presented yesterday.

The report will be debated by the Histadrut leadership in two weeks.

Comptroller Adi Kandel said that the Histadrut has not been operating on the basis of orderly regulations, noting that no independent public committee has checked whether comptroller reports have been checked or implemented.

BEIT LID

There are therefore no further obstacles to a meeting between Belhaysi and Rosenthal, Nitzan said.

Belhaysi, 27, from Jahalya, was captured by the GSS when he attempted to enter Israel using a magnetic card, Nitzan added. He

is married with three children, and owns a clothing factory that employs 60-70 people.

In light of Nitzan's announcement, Rosenthal withdrew the petition. In an unusual move, however, Justice Gavriel Bach, Eliezer Goldberg, and Yitzhak Zamir offered their opinion anyway, stating that the information presented by Nitzan clearly just-

83% of settlers reject taking up arms against evacuation

HERB KEINON

EIGHTY-THREE percent of settlers would not consider using lethal weapons to fight a government-ordered evacuation of settlements, according to a recent survey.

The survey, sponsored by Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies and the Nablus-based Center for Palestine Research and Studies, found that 8% of the settlers answered positively when asked, "Would you consider resisting with force (i.e. use of firearms or other lethal weapons) to a government-ordered evacuation of the settlements in Judea and Samaria?"

Another 9% said they did not know. According to the poll, carried out by Modi'in Ezrahi, 2% of the settlers said they would "justify active confrontation," such as "hitting, use of lethal weapons, etc." against soldiers who came to evacuate settlements, while 14% would justify passive physical confrontation.

The poll of 511 Jews in 79 settlements was conducted by phone from December 29-31.

The margin of error is 4.5%. Among the poll's other findings:

● Thirty percent of the respondents said they would be willing to consider leaving their homes in exchange for "reasonable compensation" from the government, while 58% said they would refuse to consider this option.

● Twenty-two percent of the settlers believe that within five to 10 years most settlements will be dismantled, while 20% believe most of the settlements will be annexed to Israel.

● Thirty-nine percent of the respondents believe a Palestinian state will be established in Judea and Samaria within five to 10 years, while 26% believe the peace process will fail, and the IDF will return to exert control over Judea and Samaria.

● Sixteen percent of the settlers believe that if a Palestinian state emerges, they would "consider staying on the settlement as a citizen of Israel under Palestinian sovereignty," while 71% said they would not consider this option.

● Seventy-two percent said they would not consider a "fair business offer" from a Palestinian to buy their home or business, while 15% said they would.

Intelligence chief: Assad wants peace - on his terms

LIAT COLLINS

SYRIAN President Hafez Assad has made a strategic decision to achieve a peace agreement with Israel, according to DC Military Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon.

Ya'alon and other senior Intelligence Branch officials briefed the cabinet yesterday.

Ya'alon reportedly told the ministers that the peace process is gaining momentum, including in the Gulf states and North Africa. However, he also noted that some of these states are arming themselves, particularly Iran, which is trying to obtain nuclear weapons and will likely be able to produce non-conventional weapons within five years.

Ya'alon's head of research, Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, agreed that Iraq is the main threat to Israel, but said there is no immediate risk of war.

There are signs Syria is growing increasingly more willing to sign a peace treaty with Israel, but Assad is adamant that no agreement be on his terms, they said.

The officers recalled that Syrian-Iranian treaties remain in force, but mainly because of the countries' perception of Iraq as a common enemy.

Regarding the Palestinians, Ya'alon said the agreed timetable for implementing the Oslo 2 agreement is being adhered to and most clauses have been abided by.

Rape still goes unreported

SOME 88 percent of Arab women and 35% of Jewish women who were raped during 1995 did not report the attack to police, according to a survey by the Center for Aid to Victims of Rape and Sexual Attacks in Haifa.

The center last year dealt with 537 women of all ages who had been sexually attacked. Only 10 percent of them had contacted the center within 24 hours of the attack.

One hundred and nineteen of the women were victims of incest - 22% of the total. Thirty of the women had reported being gang-raped.

Belhaysi's interrogation is continuing. However, the State Attorney's Office said it had not yet decided whether to use his confession to try to get the interim injunction forbidding the GSS to use force against him revoked. Belhaysi's petition on that issue is still pending before the court.

Jordan denies concern about Palestinian state

HERB KEINON

JORDAN yesterday denied a Jerusalem Post report last week in which a high-ranking foreign ministry official said the Jordanians told Foreign Minister Ehud Barak - during his one-day visit - that they are concerned about the creation of a Palestinian state.

The official, authorized by King Hussein, the royal palace responded that "Jordan is fully supportive of the Palestinian people, as they strive to secure their legitimate rights on their legitimate national soil."

"Jordan will never infringe upon Palestinian affairs beyond supporting the Palestinian people and their leadership."

The Foreign Ministry official told the Post that Barak assured Hussein that the Jordanians will have a vital role to play in any permanent settlement between Israel and the Palestinians.

Barak reportedly said this after the Jordanians voiced concern that a Palestinian entity, which could have wide-ranging, negative ramifications for the kingdom, is being established "right in front of their eyes."

In response to the reported story, the palace said that "the said quote is all its contents and context was totally erroneous."

According to the statement, "The subject of the impending

Palestinian elections was never raised in the presence of his majesty the king.

"However, his majesty is fully supportive of these elections being held according to plan. Jordan embarked on its peace with Israel at the same time as Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians at the Madrid Peace Conference. Jordan has always called for and sought an Arab-Israeli comprehensive peace."

The Foreign Ministry official also said Jordanians are concerned that if there is progress in the Israeli talks with Syria, Jordan will be pushed out of the limelight and have to share both Israeli and American attention with Syria and the Palestinians.

This was also denied by the palace, which said "the mood in Jordan is one of optimism regarding the current Syrian-Israeli negotiations and welcomes their early successful conclusion."

"Jordan is not in the least concerned that its role in the cause of achieving a comprehensive peace in the region will be marginalized by any and all parties as they move towards the attainment of that worthy goal."

"Nor has Jordan ever been or will be as small as to begrudge any and all parties their rights to the full benefits of peace."

Trial of Jordanian peace critic postponed

AMMAN (Reuters) - The trial of a leading Jordanian critic of King Hussein's links with Israel, set to start yesterday, was postponed because his lawyers did not show up, judicial sources said.

Laib Shuhailat refused to start the court proceedings without the presence of the defense counsel who were not notified of Sunday's session, one judicial source told Reuters. "So the

court decided to postpone the trial to Wednesday."

Shuhailat is charged with violating the dignity of King Hussein and Queen Noor, distributing leaflets that violate their dignity, inflaming religious and ethnic divisions, and undermining the state's moral authority and confidence in the national currency.

Each of the charges carry a maximum three-year sentence.

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Jerusalem won't lay off 500, says union leader

BILL HUTMAN

THE plan to fire 500 Jerusalem municipal workers "is all bull-shit," and will likely never be realized, workers' union leader Danny Bonfil charged yesterday. "For two years now, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert has been talking about layoffs, and look what has happened," Bonfil said. There have been no large-scale layoffs among city workers during Olmert's administration.

Bonfil was speaking in a telephone interview following the adoption by the city council of the 1996 budget, which calls for 500 city workers to be let go as part of large-scale cutbacks. "What's really being talked about is 200 workers," Bonfil said.

"Before any layoffs begin, we are demanding that all the unnecessary advisers and political appointees be sacked first," he said. Even if the city persists in trying to lay off workers, "There will be no firings, only early retirements for those who choose it," Bonfil said.

Sources at the council meeting said Olmert rejected the charge that the offices of the city's political leadership were over-staffed and included overpaid officials. Olmert added that his record on political appointees was particularly strong in comparison to that of former mayor Teddy Kollek, the sources said. He declined, however, to elaborate.

Outside City Hall, a small demonstration was held by Jerusalem old-age home workers and elderly residents against cuts that would affect the elderly, as inside, Olmert defended the budget as essential for the city's fiscal health.

Olmert said that none of the some 60 recreation centers for the elderly would be closed by the cuts, although senior city officials had told council members otherwise only last week, sources at the meeting said. About a third of the centers would be closed under the 1996 budget, the officials had told the city's finance committee, which approved the budget last week, the sources said.

Israel Museum director resigns

MEIR RONNEN

DR. Martin Weyl, first overall director of the Israel Museum and the man who turned it into the country's largest and most prestigious cultural institution, has announced his resignation.

Weyl, 55, a Holocaust survivor, has been with the museum for more than 26 years, first as curator, then chief curator, and, for the last 15 years, director. His command of languages, international contacts, and extraordinary success as a fundraiser, have led to his being offered posts by major museums abroad, but Weyl intends to remain here in a newly announced post as director emeritus at the museum.

Weyl's resignation has caused consternation among friends-of-the-museum groups in America and Europe, which see him as irreplaceable. Several museum supporters have flown here in an attempt to get him to change his mind. But Weyl has remained adamant, although he has agreed to stay on until July 1.

Peretz aims to have workers running Ouman

MICHAL YUDELMAN

HISTADRUT Chairman Amir Peretz yesterday told the trade union federation's leadership that he had set up a committee which, together with the Industry and Trade and Labor ministries, will formulate a model for operating Oufakim's Ouman Knitting Mills by its workers for three months. During that time, a private entrepreneur to purchase the plant together with its workers will be sought.

So far there has been no contact with Polgat, the plant's owner, whose agreement is required for the project. Peretz said the strange conduct of Polgat left the Histadrut no



Cellcom president Ya'acov Perry - former head of the General Security Service - ponders a cake in the form of the company's product yesterday at an anniversary party at Kfar Hammacabiah.

'Ha'aretz' petitions High Court against 'discrimination' by IDF

EVELYN GORDON

THE Ha'aretz newspaper yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice against alleged discrimination against its reporters by the army.

Ha'aretz and the army have a long-standing dispute over the paper's refusal to withhold reports on casualties until the families have been notified - a policy to which the Editors' Committee has agreed, but which Ha'aretz nevertheless ignores. Because of this, the petition charged, for the past few months the army has systematically denied interviews to its reporters and refused to invite them to tours and press conferences.

The petition listed several instances in which the paper was allegedly discriminated against. On October 19, for instance, following a week in which nine soldiers were killed in Lebanon, re-

porters were invited to visit one of the Golan posts there, "walk with the soldiers and attend a press conference. However, the petition said, reporter Eitan Rabin was not allowed to go along. Similarly, his request for an interview with a senior army official on the state of affairs in Lebanon was denied, though reporters from Yediot Ahronot, Ma'ariv, Davar, Israel Radio and other television stations were given such interviews. According to Rabin, his request was met with the response: "We'll split on Ha'aretz just as Ha'aretz splits on us."

Finally, after an incident in Lebanon on December 6 in which several soldiers were wounded and one killed, reporters from all the other papers were invited to

interview battalion commander Haggai Mordechai, then in Rambam Hospital in Haifa. However, Rabin was denied permission; the petition said.

Another Ha'aretz reporter, Ahuf Ben, was told explicitly that no interviews would be granted to Ha'aretz unless the paper changed its policy on reporting casualties, the petition said.

The paper argued that this policy is illegal, because the army has no authority to discriminate among various media outlets. Ha'aretz readers have sons in the army just like everybody else, the petition said, and the paper's readers have the same right to information from the army as other citizens.

The army therefore has an obligation to supply information equally to all papers, the petition argued.

Spielberg foundation gives \$1.6m. to Brandeis for Jewish studies

TOM TUGEND LOS ANGELES

FILMMAKER Steven Spielberg's Righteous Persons Foundation has made a \$1.6 million grant to Brandeis University to create a program for teenagers linking their secular interests to studies in Jewish values and tradition.

The grant will launch "The Genesis Program," a four-week summer session, to start with 48 students in 1997 at Brandeis University in Massachusetts.

In announcing the \$1.6 million grant, Spielberg said that "one of

my hopes in setting up the Foundation was to give young men and women an opportunity to explore and define their Jewish identity. This program can be a breakthrough, impacting Jewish teenagers for years to come."

The Righteous Persons Foundation is capitalized by Spielberg's profits from Schindler's List. The Academy Award-winning film, expected to lose money, has earned some \$350 million worldwide, with Spielberg's share estimated at \$30-\$40m.

34% of homes have a computer

JUDY SEGEL

THIRTY-FOUR percent of Israeli homes have a personal computer; of these, 5.6% have two computers and 1.4% have three. These statistics were provided by International Data Corporation-Israel, which conducted a survey of computer users and found home use the largest-growing sales factor.

About one-quarter of the 440,000 PCs were purchased in 1994 and 1995, according to the survey, which used a representative sample of more than 600 people and was carried out by Dr. Arye Rotem. IDC-Israel is a subsidiary of Koteret and the computer weekly Anashim U'machshavin.

Fully 96% of the PCs were IBM or IBM-compatible, 2.4% Apple Macintosh, and the rest of other types. Home users receive most advice and assistance from friends and colleagues at work, with little provided by exhibitions, direct-mail marketing, or the mass media.

Nearly 90% of users have at least one computer game. A third of those with home computers said they are turned on over 15 hours a week. Nearly half said their children monopolize the computer 91%-100% of the time.

Air fares go up in April

Service network to speed up reservations

HAIM SHAPIRO

AIR fare bargains are likely to end in late April, when fares are to increase by at least five percent over last year, according to El Al deputy director-general for commerce Dov Koniak.

The good news is that passengers soon will be able to obtain information and make reservations faster, not just on El Al, but on over 100 other airlines and other facilities, including hotels, car rental agencies, cruises and tours.

The improved service is to come as a result of the linkage of El Al's Camel reservation system to the worldwide Sabre network, owned by American Airlines.

Speaking at a press conference, Koniak and Sabre vice-president Eric Speck yesterday described the system as one in which travel agents and their clients can compare fares and schedules and make reservations within seconds.

Agents connected to the Camel system are to be hooked up to Spectre by the end of the month, Koniak said.

Surveying the past year, Koniak noted that there had been an increase by 15 percent in the

number of passengers at Ben-Gurion Airport, with a rise of 17.6% in the number carried by El Al. He noted a 21% jump in the number of Israelis carried by the airline, which he attributed to the fact that local people are flying more often for shorter periods of time.

In a related development, representatives of the panel of foreign airlines in Israel warned that the increased numbers at the airport are already creating a crisis and that the situation would only worsen if the government goes ahead with plans to develop the Nevatim airfield in the Negev.

Rami Hilewicz, director of the SAS Israel office, noted that Ben-Gurion already has the runway capacity to provide for the expected increase in air traffic for the next 15 years, although there are already bottlenecks at the terminal which keep the airlines from increasing their flights.

With the expanded Ben-Gurion Airport, there could actually be an improvement in the quality of life for those living in the area because it would be possible to schedule all flights during the

waking hours. Many airports are closed from midnight to 5 a.m., he said.

British Airways Israel manager Nira Dror warned that if airlines could not receive convenient slots at Ben-Gurion, they would simply not expand operations to Israel.

The airlines would not expend large sums to set up parallel offices at Nevatim, she warned.

Meanwhile, Nader Gababi, president of Royal Jordanian Airlines, told a press conference in Tel Aviv that the Jordanian carrier had no desire to compete for existing markets. Rather, he said, Royal Jordanian and El Al hope to create "another piece of the pie."

The two airlines are already advertising in the US a six-day package, including 3 nights in Jordan and 3 nights in Israel, with each airline taking the passengers in one direction.

Gababi said that Royal Jordanian is ready to fly between Amman and Ben-Gurion airport as soon as the aviation agreement between Israel and Jordan is signed. He could not say what the fare for the 14-minute flight would be.

Artificial corneas now in use here

JUDY SEGEL

ARTIFICIAL corneas implanted during eight-hour operations at Sheba Hospital have restored the sight of two completely blind women. They were the first two Israeli patients to receive the polymer plastic implants, which were developed abroad.

Dr. Yitzhak Avni, head of the Tel Hashomer hospital's cornea unit, and his colleague Dr. Igor Brickman, performed the two operations several months ago, and waited until now to publicize

them after being sure that their patients' bodies did not reject the implant. A third operation is to be performed at Sheba today.

Avni said yesterday that the artificial cornea is a "last resort" for totally blind patients who cannot benefit from natural corneas taken from a cadaver. It is not very esthetic - the piece of plastic is attached over the eye and the eyelids are permanently sewo

closed to hold it in and reduce the risk of rejection, with a "window" cut in the lid to allow the patient to see. Patients then wear sunglasses so people are not put off, Avni explained.

Until now, most patients needing an artificial cornea were sent abroad. The first two operations at Sheba were fully covered by the Clalit and Leumit health funds. Avni estimates that several dozen Israelis need such an implant.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Bar-Ilan appoints new president

Prof. Moshe Kaveh will be the next president of Bar-Ilan University, effective February 1. Kaveh, a physicist who earned all three of his degrees at Bar-Ilan, has been rector for the past three years. He will succeed Prof. Shlomo Eckstein, who will return to teach in the economics department. *Batsheva Tzoref*


Warning issued on polluted beaches

The Interior Ministry yesterday warned bathers and surfers to avoid the beaches between Rishon LeZion and Tel Aviv, particularly the Cliff Beach, because the water is being polluted by sewage flowing from the area of the Reading power plant. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

US Embassy to resume issuing visas

The US Embassy announced that as of this morning its visa department is reopening, after being closed for several weeks because of the US budget dispute. It was estimated that some 3,000 Israelis were unable to enter the US during this period because they could not obtain visas except for emergencies. Embassy spokesman Richard Scorza advised holders of expired US visas that they could have them renewed through travel agents, thus avoiding a visit to the embassy. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

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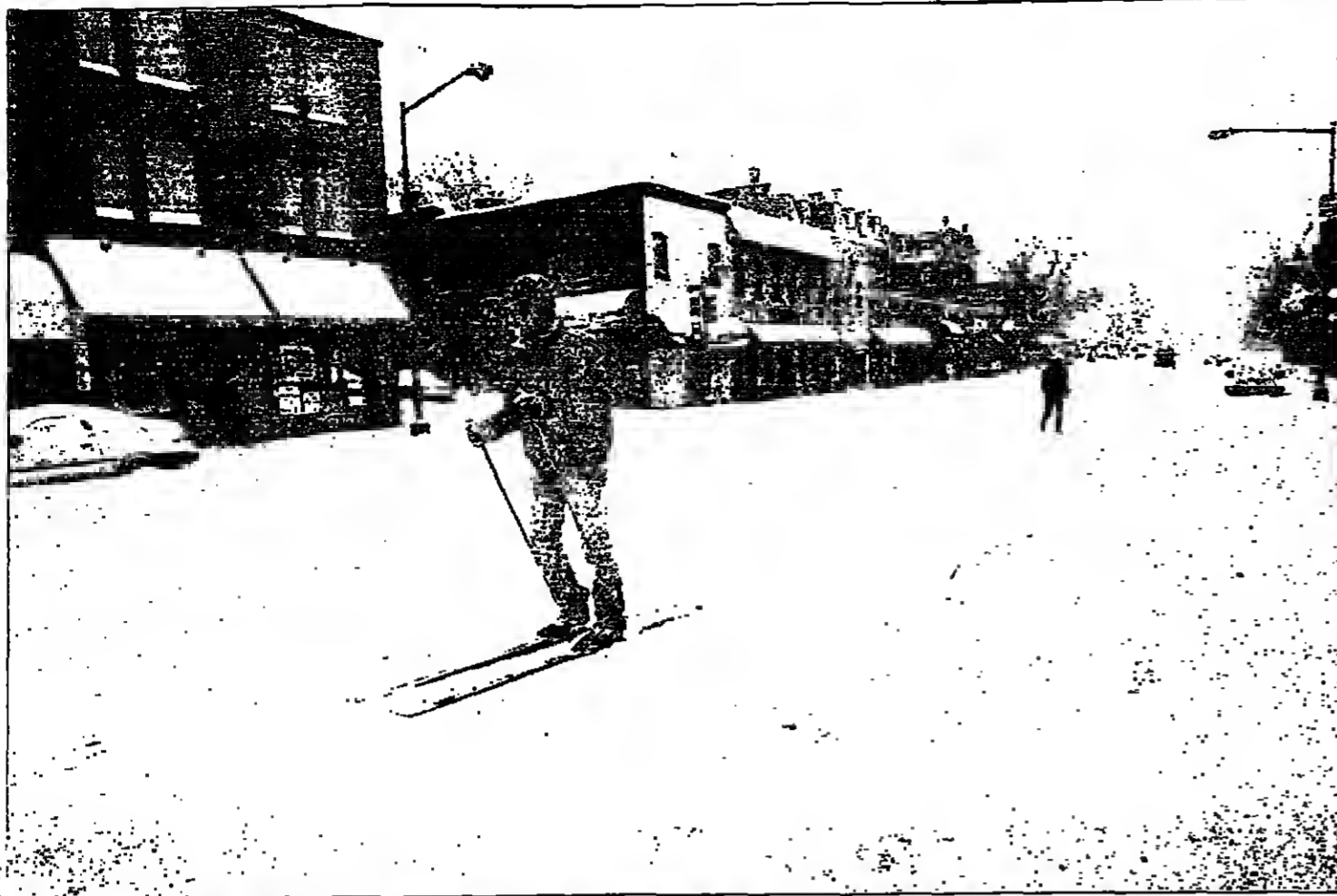
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David Greenburg of Washington DC skis through the Georgetown section of the city yesterday as one of the worst winter storms in recent years hit the US capital. Meteorologists expect the blizzard to dump more than two feet of snow on the area.

Clinton embraces Republican balanced-budget plan

LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON
WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton bowed to months of Republican demands and offered a new seven-year balanced-budget plan, a concession at White House budget talks that will let the entire government emerge from its three-week shutdown.

Republicans criticized the president's budget proposal for too much spending and claimed it contained tax increases. But Democrats said it eliminated federal deficits with gender reductions in important social programs than Republicans want.

"This plan will show that you can balance the budget in seven years and protect Medicare, Medicaid (health care for the poor and elderly), education and the environment, and provide tax relief to working families," Clinton told reporters at the Oval Office.

"This is a time of great national promise. We need to find unity and common ground," he said. One Republican, speaking anonymously, said Republicans were so unhappy with Clinton's

proposal that House Speaker Newt Gingrich told the president "if this is where you are, we're so far apart we better start thinking about how we can call this off."

Republicans were particularly unhappy with the president's proposals for Medicare, Medicaid, welfare and tax cuts, as well as his failure to propose any changes in federal agriculture programs, the Republican source said.

The government has been partially closed since Dec. 16 as Clinton and the Republicans, who control Congress, haggled over how to balance the budget.

But Congress passed legislation Friday that will reopen the federal government at least until Jan. 26.

Saturday's proposal represents a retreat for Clinton, who for months had refused to endorse a balanced-budget plan certified by the Congressional Budget Office. The president argued that

CBO's economic forecasts are too conservative and that embracing them would therefore require steeper savings than he says are really needed.

Yet both sides said Saturday that the CBO had certified that the president's proposal would eliminate federal deficits by 2002.

Clinton's embrace of the proposal still left the two sides searching for a deal to balance the budget in seven years by cutting Medicare, Medicaid and other social programs. More negotiations were scheduled for some officials yesterday, although a snow storm approaching Washington could affect those plans. Another White House bargaining session was slated for this afternoon.

Republicans said Clinton's new plan was crucial because it would help clarify how close to a sweeping budget deal the two sides might be.

"The good news is at least we have a document on the table," said John Kasich, the chairman of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee. (AP)

Japan coalition picks Hashimoto for PM

TOKYO (Reuters) - Japan's ruling coalition agreed on a policy yesterday, clearing the way for Trade Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto to become prime minister soon, party officials said.

The talks among Hashimoto's Liberal Democratic Party, outgoing Prime Minister Tomieichi Murayama's Socialists and Finance Minister Masayoshi Takemura's Sakigake party followed Murayama's sudden announcement last Friday he was stepping down in favor of a new government to be formed under Hashimoto.

"We have agreed on the policy platform," LDP secretary-general Koichi Kato said. "We will aim to nominate Mr. Hashimoto at a meeting of the three party leaders (today)." Murayama and Takemura have already declared support for Hashimoto.

The 58-year old Hashimoto was expected to be formally named prime minister at a special session of parliament on Thursday. The current left-right coalition formed in June 1994 holds a

solid majority in both houses of parliament.

Coalition officials said negotiators from the three parties agreed to adopt measures to streamline US bases in Japan, about which feelings have been inflamed by the alleged rape of an Okinawan schoolgirl by three US servicemen last September.

Japan and the United States had planned last November to renew their commitment to their bilateral security treaty and announce a new security policy framework.

But this was scuttled when President Bill Clinton cancelled a state visit to Japan due to his own domestic budget crisis.

Clinton has rescheduled his Tokyo visit for April 16-18, by which time the new Japanese government must settle the bases row with Okinawa.

The coalition also agreed on ways to tackle an explosive domestic issue - the country's seven ailing mortgage firms.

Last month, the government announced it would earmark \$6.7

billion of taxpayers' money to help wind up the private mortgage firms, known as "Jusen."

The Jusen plan immediately came under heavy fire from the media, business leaders and opposition parties. They said it was ill-explained, hastily conceived and too easy on the farm cooperatives that were major lenders to the troubled firms.

Murayama said a main reason for his sudden resignation was the Jusen affair.

The three parties agreed to clarify responsibilities in the affair, review the Finance Ministry's lax control over financial institutions and study plans to give other organizations, such as the private Deposit Insurance Corporation of Japan, a new watchdog role.

It was not clear if the coalition plan would be enough to placate the opposition Shinshinto (New Frontier Party), which promised an all-out campaign against the Jusen plan during the regular parliament session starting January 22.

EU warns: Mostar to stay united

NICHOLAS DOUGHTY
MOSTAR, Bosnia

THE European Union administrator in Mostar warned yesterday he would not allow the tense Bosnian city to become a Balkans Berlin - split into hostile zones like the German city after World War II.

Hans Koschnick threatened to withdraw EU aid if Croat-Muslim violence persisted.

His EU reconstruction and aid team has been trying to keep order following the killings of a Croat policeman and a Muslim youth.

Koschnick said that if the two communities refused to work together "we should pack up, take our money and leave."

Calm returned to Mostar yesterday after Croat and Muslim troops traded sniper fire and rocket-propelled grenades overnight over the city's "confrontation line" dividing the communities.

Spanish force armored cars of the Bosnian peace Implementation Force (IFOR) patrolled the confrontation line during the night in a show of strength.

NATO said small-arms fire hit a French military aircraft approach-

ing Sarajevo airport yesterday but there were no casualties and the plane landed safely - the latest in a series of incidents blamed on trigger-happy gunmen.

Two people in the Bosnian capital were accidentally wounded when Serbs marking their Orthodox Christmas fired their weapons into the air in celebration. Hospital sources said the victims suffered serious head injuries.

By noon yesterday the air was thick with the sound of exploding grenades and rifles fired by Serbs, many of whom plan to flee the city rather than submit to control by a Bosnian government.

Lieutenant Colonel Mark Rayner of (IFOR) told reporters in Sarajevo the area was "generally quiet."

But he added: "Clearly tension is building in Mostar - that has been well reported." Mostar is seen as a vital testing

ground for an uneasy Moslem-Croat federation to rule half Bosnia, separately from a Serb republic, and therefore the key to the ultimate success of the Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia.

While the Moslems favor a united, multi-ethnic city, the Catholic Croats are reluctant to agree. They have received substantial financial and political support from the Croatian capital Zagreb.

On Friday, Croat mayor Mijo Brakjovic said the division of Mostar was the only solution to its problems and that Bosnian Croats wanted the city as their capital.

Koschnick, a former mayor of Bremen, said yesterday that Germany's experience with the East-West division of Berlin had convinced him that the goal must be a united Mostar.

"As a German, I cannot conduct a policy of dividing a city, or a policy that makes the Bosnian

(Moslem) part into a ghetto. Divided cities bring only unhappiness," he said.

"If Mostar is not a united city, there will be no federation," said Koschnick. "Europe should be aware that, with the collapse of the federation, there will be a completely different situation."

Koschnick said he had appealed to the Moslems in the east and the Croats in the west not to cross to the other side for the time being. Local police agreed to block access to the main boulevard, the former confrontation line.

"This, I hope, will bring some elements of calm to the situation," he said.

The EU set up an administration in 1994 with a mandate to unite Mostar in southwestern Bosnia, after the United States brokered a Moslem-Croat federation.

Although the two sides, which fought a bitter war over Mostar in 1993, have cooperated on the military front, enormous tension and hostility have prevented the Moslem-Croat federation from political development.

Under the Bosnian peace agreement signed last month in Paris, the citizens of Mostar are supposed to enjoy complete freedom of movement, except for men of military age. That final restriction is due to be lifted on January 20.

Asked whether he might consider postponing total freedom of movement given the tensions, Koschnick said: "We have to wait and see what happens. I have to see if it calms down or not." (Reuters)

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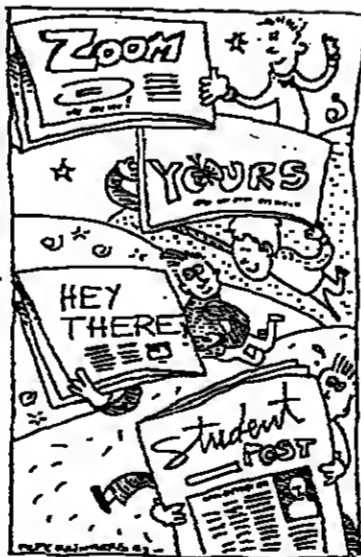
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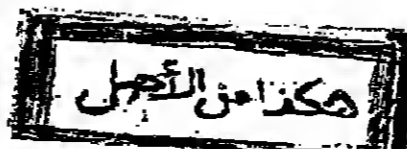
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Inbal tosses its rescuer overboard

HELEN KAYE

Only a year and a half after she was hailed as its savior, choreographer Margalit Oved is suing the Inbal Dance Theater for breach of contract and damages. What began so hopefully, has ended as ignominiously as the company she tried to resurrect.

The Inbal Dance Theater is dead. Long live the Inbal Dance Theater Ethnic Center. At the end of December, the Inbal Plenum decided to dissolve the 47-year-old dance company and create a multidisciplinary ethnic arts center in its place.

The Inbal dancers have been fired. The position of artistic director has been abolished, there by terminating Oved, whose contract had been for three years. The plenum is looking for a general manager with an arts background

to run the new center, with artistic input provided by outside consultants.

It will host theater, music and dance activities and will serve, Inbal board chairman Yigal Ben-Shalom says, "to give expression to the cultural heritage of all [of] Israel's ethnic groups."

The plenum also decided on the formation of a group of dancers which would document and revive the works of Sara Levi-Tanai, Inbal's 86-year-old founder. There are about 25 major and many lesser works by Levi-Tanai, but only one has been professionally filmed said Gila Toledano, who

helped Levi-Tanai found Inbal and was the company's general manager from 1969-77.

"We have committed a crime against ourselves," she said sadly last week. "No one in the country works directly from the source as Sara did."

Until she was virtually forced into retirement in 1992, Inbal and Levi-Tanai were synonymous. With and through the company, Levi-Tanai created a truly singular dance language which drew its essence from her own Yemenite traditions and culture.

When she retired the company effectively died. Levi-Tanai had always fiercely resisted relinquishing any creative control, thus creating an artistic vacuum when she left.

But the death throes took three years, despite a report which then recommended Inbal's dissolution. Artistic directors and general managers came and went, and the company, apart from the occasional public concert, kept itself alive by working mainly with Omani La'am.

Oved was one of Inbal's founding members and its principal

dancer for 15 years. Then she emigrated to carve out a successful career for herself as a choreographer with her own company in Los Angeles. When she returned here in the summer of 1994, Inbal was moribund and she committed herself to its complete recovery.

"My mission is a very simple one," she said at the time in a *Jerusalem Post* interview. "It is to inaugurate Inbal from scratch."

She created Zaffa with the new, improved Inbal to almost universal praise, but it was the beginning of the end. An uncompromising perfectionist, she demanded professionalism from an organization

in which oar anarchy, infighting and backstairs intrigues had become endemic.

There were confrontations between Oved and the veteran Inbal dancers, between Oved and the general manager Shmuel Rahat and especially between Oved and the board.

In a statement, Oved wrote that in September she sent a 150-page report to the plenum which "documented the board's unwarranted interference in my work and its persistent refusal to make the necessary professional change[s]. For this the board fired me."

The board also fired Rahat and,

at its October meeting, the plenum decided to suspend all activity for two months. The final decision to dissolve Inbal was taken at the end of December.

What had tipped the scales was that during the preceding nine months, Inbal had earned a mere NIS 80,000 and it had not done much better in the preceding years. Inbal's 1995 budget was NIS 2.8 million, of which all but NIS 500,000 was government money.

There was no justification, plenum chairman Miki Yerushalmi said, in spending public funds to maintain the company as it was then structured. However, Yerushalmi was unable to explain why the plenum had failed to intervene until now, although it had long been aware of the situation at Inbal.

Serving up sin by the numbers

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

SEVEN

★★★

Directed by David Fincher. Screenplay by Andrew Kevin Walker. Hebrew title: *Shiva*. 128 minutes. English dialogue. Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult. (ID will be checked.)
William Somerset...Morgan Freeman
David Mills...Brad Pitt
Tracy Mills...Gwyneth Paltrow

JOHN Doe, the serial killer who provides *Seven* with its grisly outline — one murder for each of the Seven Deadly Sins — is an unusually intelligent and well-read fellow. His crimes allude to the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Dante and Chaucer, and the detectives assigned to his case eventually catch up with him by tapping into his records at the public library.

Watching David Fincher's gruesome but engaging psychological thriller, one begins to wonder just what Hollywood is trying to say about people who read books. It seems a penchant for High Culture is allowed in a commercial American movie only if it's linked directly to violent crime.

In *The Silence of the Lambs* Hannibal Lecter cannibalized to the strains of the Goldberg Variations, while the shadowy killer at the center of *Seven* tortures a victim by enacting a quote from *The Merchant of Venice*: the lawyer he punishes for the sin of greed is forced to literally relinquish a pound of his flesh. It appears the classics made their due.

Of course, a sardonic quality underlies the creation of both of these erudite disembowellers. With their tongues lodged firmly in their cheeks, filmmakers like Jonathan Demme and Fincher have resorted to one of the last outposts of strict formalism in our culture: serial murder.

The perpetrators of these crimes are sick, all right, but their actions are almost always carried out according to some unwavering organizing principle (the signs of the zodiac, for instance, or a hatred of tall brunettes). Oddly enough, such an organizing principle — or conceit, if you will — is

also what generates a sharp movie plot. So, in the taut, amoral tradition of Hitchcock's perfect-murder-movies, *Seven* unfolds as per a killer's dictates.

The picture was written by Andrew Kevin Walker, who strives quite consciously for the pitch and texture of a '40s crime film. He does a good job. Despite the atrocities the murderer commits (squeamish viewers are warned to steer clear: although *Seven* isn't especially violent, it does feature graphic depictions of hideous crime scenes and autopsy labs), the action focuses mostly on character and setting. These are, respectively, two mismatched police detectives and an unspecified, always-rainy American city, well along in its decay.

William Somerset (Morgan Freeman) is a taciturn old-timer, one week away from his retirement. He lives alone, plays darts, reads books and still issues reports from a rickety typewriter, which he pecks at deliberately, one pointer finger at a time. It's a classic Freeman role — sad, wise, crusty and utterly dignified. The actor's greatness is perhaps plainest during his silences, when he just stares out placidly from under his soft fedora at the devastation all around. But his greatness is also apparent when he opens his mouth and that molten voice emerges.

David Mills (Brad Pitt), on the other hand, is young and cocky, a new recruit who swears, struts, and happily makes snap decisions. Itchy at having to use his head, he's hostile to Somerset for his restrained methods: at first, the older man's approach seems to David antiquated, pointless, prissy. While Pitt's hardly the actor that Freeman is, his callowness and bravado work well here to reinforce the gap between the characters.

This world-weary-veteran-teams-reluctantly-with-young-whippersnapper set-up is certainly nothing new. Somerset and Mills dance the same tango as a thousand other movie-detectives before them, arguing at first then eventually coming around and



Brad Pitt's callowness and bravado actually serve his cocky detective character well.

forming an unlikely alliance.

Indeed, the odd-couple formula is so very familiar that Walker and Fincher seem to be toying with it, placing the clash of sensibilities between Somerset and Mills at the heart of the movie, and attempting to imbue the difference between them with a higher symbolic, even prophetic meaning. This doesn't really work.

It's one thing to see Somerset as a man whose time has passed and Mills as an inexperienced jerk who represents everything shallow about the world today. But the fact that the Seven Deadly Sins

are hanging over both their heads like some medieval torture device makes the movie's stakes — and pretensions — much higher.

As it lurches toward its inevitable surprise ending, the picture offers a doomsday warning of sorts, a deeply conservative reminder that the Big Seven are still with us. Since it seems fairly unlikely that the filmmakers honestly believe the judgment day awaits all those guilty of greed, gluttony, sloth, pride, envy, anger or lust, the film's seven-sin-plan comes to seem a little cynical, a little glib. In one fell swoop, a

major Christian construct is reduced to nothing more than a nifty plot propeller.

As plot propellers go, though, this one is definitely nifty. The film has a hypnotic pace and dream-like monochrome (the palette ranges eerily from sepia to amber to coffee brown). Darius Khondji's photography manages to look lush and bleak at the same time: wet and cold and strangely luminous. The rain pours constantly throughout the movie, warning, perhaps that the flood is on its way — or maybe that it's already here.

HELEN KAYE

Monkey business with playwright Mogilner

MARTIN Mogilner apologizes. He has to go up on the roof to shoot a video segment with his actress, playing a chimpanzee. He'll come down in 15 minutes.

He's 20 years old. He's passionate, the way only the young and the very gifted can be. He's a playwright whose autobiographical second play, *And So We'll Go On*, won first prize at the 1994 Acre Festival. The first one, *Parthodax*, had won an honorable mention the year before.

Now he's directing his third play with the graduating class at the Nissim Nativ acting studio. It's a multi-disciplinary, multimedia piece called *Mahamudra*, which is a Hindi word meaning balance.

Mahamudra looks at our internal balance via what Mogilner calls

three interlocking circles whose common denominator is extremes. In the first circle a man tries to make a chimp into a human. In the second there are two fantastical tales around the split personalities of the soldier/queen and king/whore. The third is a live game of chess.

He has a neat black goatee which defines his face. His eyes are hazel and fringed by black lashes of startling length and thickness. He's wraith-skinny, wearing a mixture of foreign-army fatigues and chivy gear, and he almost chain-smokes.

Mogilner's family immigrated from Argentina when he was three years old, and apart from one-and-a-half years in South Africa where

his father, a pediatric surgeon, was teaching, he grew up here.

He works in theater "because I want to see what's running around in my head in three dimensions. After all, we're a set of chemical reactions. I want to find out what

makes mine tick the way they do. Who I am. Where I'm going."

The actress, still in her chimp suit, comes down from the roof. In Mogilner's *Mahamudra*, the chimp ends up by becoming a man trainer. Smiling, the young playwright follows his chimp back up to the cameras.

Camerata: Looking beyond Rehovot

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

BIOMEDICINE'S loss became music's gain 20 years ago when Avner Biron made a painful but happy career choice.

The onetime cancer researcher at the Hadassah University Hospital in Jerusalem was offered a job as principal flutist of the Israel Chamber Orchestra. "It was a very loog and difficult week, but eventually I chose music and I don't regret it," said the 47-year-old musician. "As a scientist, you have your share of intellectual experiences, but as an artist you top that with emotional experiences. Nothing can equal that."

Biron eventually took his new-found career much farther. Although he still plays the flute, Biron now heads the Jerusalem Rubin Academy for Music and Dance and is music director of the Israel Camerata Rehovot, which he founded in 1985. It consists largely of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in the string sections, and young native Israelis on winds.

"I believe that, musically speaking, we are in a very good shape," says Biron. "We have just returned from a very successful tour of Germany, which we opened with a concert at the Philharmonie Hall in Berlin. And the most objective way to judge our success is that after each concert we were immediately invited for a return engagement."

In fact, the Camerata is slowly but surely gaining worldwide recognition. Nine tours are scheduled for the near future. This summer, the ensemble will take part in a festival in Bertio and will also perform at the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam. Then there are also festivals in Lisbon and Belgium, a major tour of Germany and a major tour of Germany and the US, as well as coast-to-coast tour of the US, as well as concerts in Japan fol-

lowed by an additional American tour, according to Biron.

These tours enable the orchestra to survive financially. "In contrast to other orchestras which even put money into their touring activities, we do not embark on a tour unless we can come home with a significant amount of money."

On tour, especially in Germany, the orchestra plays the Baroque repertoire for which it is best known at home. Sometimes the Camerata ventures into classical and romantic repertoire, and even contemporary music, including works by Israeli composers.

The Camerata is about to sign a deal with a major European record label, reports Biron. "They will record our concerts, both in Israel and abroad. This deal involves a very special and new recording technique... but at the moment I cannot add any more details."

At home, the Camerata season consists of eight subscription concerts, four devoted to the orchestral repertoire and four to baroque choral literature. The latter are far more popular.

Each choral concert is repeated three times in front of sold out audiences at the Tel Aviv Museum, plus performances in Rehovot and elsewhere. The orchestral programs, performed once in Tel Aviv, are never sold out.

Biron, however, does not like to label his orchestra a Baroque ensemble. "My style of work concentrates on the differentiation between styles... We have special rehearsals within the various orchestra sections, we aim for a different sound and we use different bowing when we play Bach or 20th century music for example."

There is a major eloud on the ensemble's horizon. "We are searching for a municipality willing to support us. Unfortunately, Rehovot cannot afford that at the moment."

There have been serious talks with representatives of the Jerusalem Municipality, as well as discussions with another city. Budget constraints mean that the Camerata works without marketing or publicity personnel. It also means that Biron cannot invite as many guest conductors as he would like. It also makes life difficult when performing choral works which call for at least four soloists and choirs, usually from abroad.

For several years, Biron has dreamed of starting a choir that would be affiliated with the Camerata. "But until the arts administration here realizes that choirmasters need to earn money, too, this will not happen."

At the Camerata's upcoming concert, Biron has decided to stick with local forces. "I have invited the New Vocal Ensemble, recently created by Yuval Ben-Ozer, to perform with us, and it will be an interesting experience. I hope it works."

In spite of the budgetary constraints Biron still thinks big. Next season, his orchestra will start performing operas as well. "It will be the kind of small-scale operas that other organizations do not perform here, not only Handel or Haydn operas but also 20th century ones. They will probably be semi-staged."

A concert of two cantatas by Bach and woodwind concert by Cimarosa and Vivaldi, featuring orchestra members Gabriella Bukowski (oboe) and Gad Lederman (bassoon) as soloists, will be held Wednesday in Rehovot and Thursday through Saturday at the Tel Aviv Museum.

Penderecki pending

LEADING composer Krzysztof Penderecki is coming for a short visit this month to lead the Haifa Symphony Orchestra in a program featuring works by Mendelssohn and Dvorak and his own cello concerto (a reworking of his viola concerto) with Allison Eldredge as soloist. Concerts take place January 14 in Haifa and the following night at the Noga Theater in Jaffa.

Michael Ajzenstadt

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Boundless hatred

IT is doubtful that any Israeli, including the most enthusiastic supporter of the Oslo agreements, could watch Yihye Ayyash's Gaza funeral with equanimity. Not only the huge number of mourners was disturbing (estimated at 250,000 or more, it was the largest Arab demonstration in this country's history), but the multitudes' sustained frenzy and boundless hatred for Israel. Only those who suffer from terminal optimism can rationalize this outpouring of hostility as no more than the death throes of frustrated fanaticism, the agony of a waning Islamist minority.

Not that the funeral was needed to remind one of the sympathy and support perpetrators of suicide bombings seem to enjoy in the Palestinian community. Nor have these sentiments been strictly those of the "man in the street."

It was only under tremendous American and Israeli pressure that Yasser Arafat finally uttered the required condemnations of terrorist acts. But he was careful to compensate for these numbingly censored speeches with lionized past and current "martyrs," called for jihad against Israel, exhorted his audience for sacrifices of blood for Palestine, and repeatedly demanded that all Hamas and Islamic Jihad prisoners, particularly Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, be released from Israeli prisons.

Hamas leader, Mahmoud Zahar, who welcomed Arafat's condolence call on Friday, praised him for statements calling all Palestinians "seekers of martyrdom."

Yesterday, too, Arafat referred to Ayyash as a "martyr" to the cheers of his audience, and blamed Israel out only for his killing but for violating the Oslo accords in doing so. (A

baseless charge, since the agreements give Israel the right of hot pursuit. The real violation of the accord is the Palestinian Authority's refusal to extradite wanted terrorists.)

Nor is there an iota of doubt that the PA knew where Ayyash was hiding — the very fact that his family could visit him in Gaza makes this obvious — and that it had no intention of stopping his activities, let alone apprehending or extraditing him.

It is in this context that Israel must understand why the PA's Justice Minister Freih Abu Melein compared the right of infidels victims to compensation to that of Holocaust victims. Last April Abu Melein said "Israel is our enemy now and forever. We and Hamas complement each other in our struggle against our common enemy." Needless to say, he was not reprimanded then, nor will he be now — for the simple reason that there is no difference between his opinions and those of other PA ministers. He is just more open in expressing them.

What Israelis must understand is that the vast majority of Palestinians really believe their own propaganda. They view Israel not as a state created by the Jewish national movement in a country with which Jews have a millennia-long bond, but as a product of the Holocaust, an expiatory creation of the West at the Arabs' expense. And they truly believe that they are victims of Israeli oppression the way the Jews were the victims of the Nazis.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres is reportedly incensed by Abu Melein's analogies. But it is Abu Melein and Arafat who represent Palestinian sentiments, not the polished negotiators who feed the wishful thinking of Israeli visionaries.

Russia's flight from reform

THE government of Russia appears to be disintegrating around President Boris Yeltsin. The departure this week of respected Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, and the deputy prime minister, Sergei Shakhrai, was followed by an unconvincing denial of a report that Economy Minister Yevgeny Yasin — a committed free-market reformer — would be next.

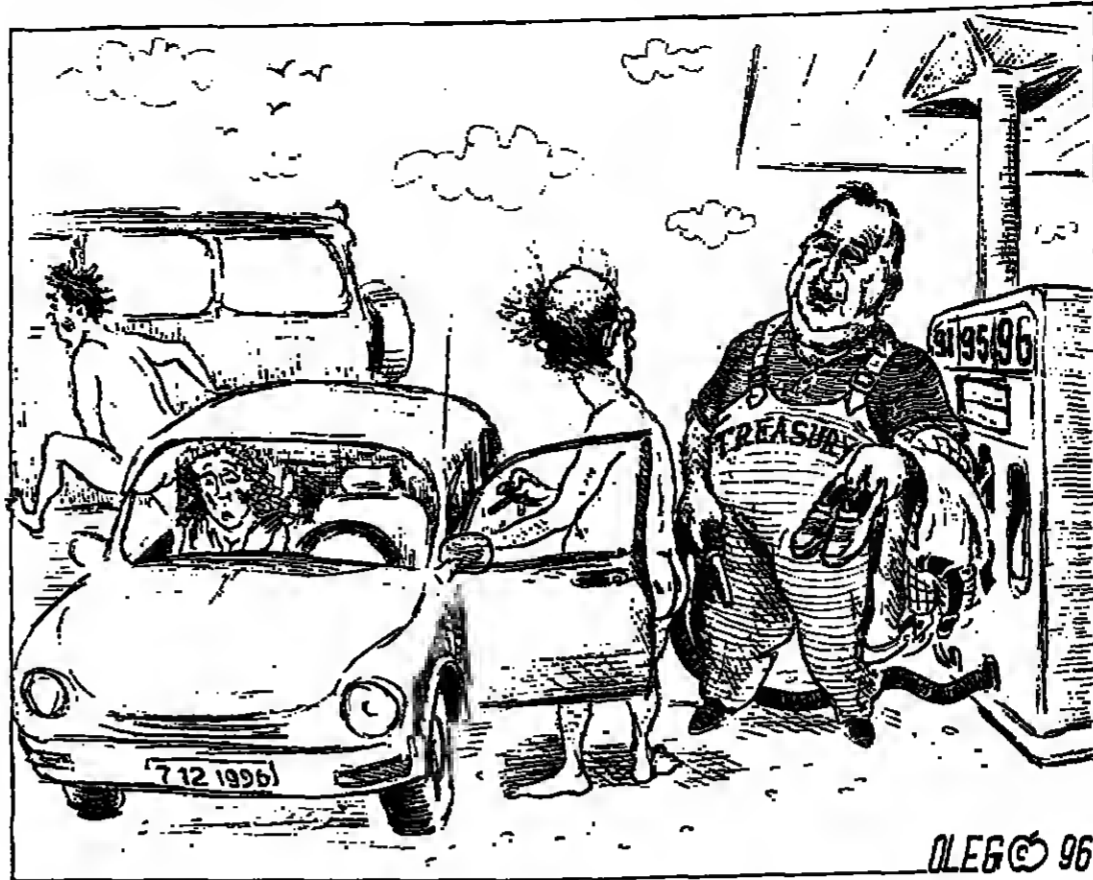
Yasin may have survived for the moment only because it is Russian Orthodox Christmas. The most obvious common factor is that the departing officials are among those most roundly despised by the resurgent former Communists who scored convincing gains in recent parliamentary elections. Yeltsin's aides assured foreign governments there would be no change in foreign policy after Kozyrev. They said the foreign minister was paying the price "for his mistakes." Foreign ministries abroad would be hard pressed to name many "mistakes" by Kozyrev. He gained a reputation as a man reasonable, pragmatic and skilled who acted sincerely in his country's best interests.

Kozyrev's real mistake was his failure to adopt the cant of the former Soviets and ultranationalists at home who accused him of "selling out" to the West. This phrase may be meaningless in any real context, but it indicates the way the wind is blowing for the forthcoming

presidential elections. It is the sure sign of the immature politician to blame "foreigners" and outside interests for domestic national ills. It is a cozy, populist line which appeals to the suspicions and xenophobia of the masses; and thus relieves the politician of the necessity to come up with real, honest policies to address the country's problems. This is the mark of politicians in love with power rather than people.

What is somewhat more disturbing is that Yeltsin — the man who gained his place in history by facing down a communist coup in 1991 — is so easily tossing his best reformers and free-market planners to the nationalist wolves. This can only suggest that Yeltsin intends to stand for re-election and, following the gains by the Communists and nationalists in the Duma, is attempting to adjust himself to the public mood. This is bad omen for Russia and its new foreign friends — Yeltsin, the former leader of public opinion, reduced to being a mere follower of national whim.

The president is tired, plagued by ill-health and excessive drinking, and he should leave Russia to a new generation. He should be grateful that fate placed him in the right place at the right time. The time has passed, the place is different. Hanging on for too long after his destiny has been fulfilled can only damage not only himself, but more importantly, his country.



Broader idea of security

ONE of the oddities of life here is the relief people feel when the police announce that someone has been attacked out of criminal motives. The reason, of course, is that Israel's major insecurity stems from a fear of "nationalist" attacks.

Yet the contrast between terrorism and crime isn't that clear.

Common crime takes on nationalist overtones when theft from Israelis is rationalized as compensation for deprivation inflicted on Palestinians, and many terrorist attacks have stemmed from the personal grievances of Palestinians against Israeli employers, co-workers or business associates. And whatever the perpetrators' motives, the victims end up just as hurt — or dead.

Nevertheless, it is a measure of how "normal" the peace process has become that during the recent redeployment from Arab cities in the West Bank, Israelis living near the Green Line seemed more worried about Palestinian thieves than about Palestinian terrorists.

The reason is obvious: Preparations for the IDF pullout from Area A were accompanied by widespread "expropriations" of Israeli livestock, agricultural equipment, and especially vehicles. Faced with the apparent inability of the Israeli police to stop this buildup of Palestinian inventories, many Israelis living near Jenin, Tulkarim and Kalkiya began to wonder if "the price of peace" now meant their Subarus.

EVEN IF these apprehensions were justified, they still represent real progress, given the very different connotation of the term "the price of peace" that prevailed just a few months earlier.

Of course, it is far too soon for Israelis to recite the blessing for reaching safe ground. Hamas and

MARK A. HELLER

Islamic Jihad are still dangerous, and the elimination Friday of Yihye Ayyash has been followed by threats of dire revenge for his death.

Nevertheless, there has been a marked improvement in the last half-year, and to the extent that this is due to the more effective and determined cooperation of the Palestinian security forces, it vindicates one of the main assumptions behind government policy: that Israeli exposure to Palestinian terrorism can be best contained by a functioning Palestinian Authority prepared to act on behalf of a Palestinian public with a vested interest in peaceful coexistence.

It is not yet clear whether the gains in anti-terrorism will be sustained or matched in the future by better performance with respect to ordinary crime against persons or property. Initial indications are somewhat encouraging.

When the Palestinian police first entered Gaza and Jericho, they were still disorganized; by now, they have gone through many of the "teething" problems typical of new institutions. The wave of thefts actually seems to have declined since they moved into the West Bank, and a few cars have actually been found and returned to their original owners.

There are even stories circulating about how the Kalkiya police accelerated this development by

taking the kind of direct action against some car thieves of which a regular court would strongly disapprove.

But this might only be a temporary respite. The potential (or incentive) for crime stems from the coexistence in close proximity of two communities with very different standards of living, and a political settlement alone is no guarantee against a major wave of criminal violence, as the example of South Africa clearly shows. And if crime reaches those proportions here, it will become another kind of national security problem, perhaps less deadly than terrorism, but just as intolerable.

In the US and Western Europe, governments have long since concluded that hungry neighbors export their problems, and that neither border fences nor narrow seas can really protect them against illegal workers or migrants, smuggling, drugs, and even political violence. They haven't found solutions to these problems, but they treat them as security threats, and recognize that their own security, in this sense, depends not only on military strength and law enforcement, but also on the economic well-being and political stability of their neighbors.

One conclusion they have drawn is that if they wish to protect their homes, they must unprotect their markets.

Until recently, Israel has not had the "luxury" of defining its national security agenda so broadly. But reality is changing, and if the gains of the peace process are to be consolidated and extended, our understanding of security will have to change too.

The writer is senior research associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

Will the gains in anti-terrorism be matched by a better response to 'ordinary' crime?

On wheeling and dealing

IF Israel had a hand in eliminating the Palestinian arch-terrorist known as "the Engineer," it highlights a major failure of the assumptions on which the progress to Palestinian autonomy in the territories was based: that the Palestinian Authority would take over responsibility for scorching anti-Israel terrorism emanating from the autonomous territories that Israel was relinquishing.

Accordingly, Yasser Arafat and his police should have taken it upon themselves to apprehend Yihye Ayyash and other known terrorists, and hand them over to Israel.

Today one feels like laughing (or crying) at the naivete of this assumption, sold to the Israeli public not very long ago. It is totally unrealistic, so we are told, to expect the Palestinian Authority to cooperate in putting down terrorism as a quid pro quo for Israel's withdrawal. Such a demand, after all, could end the peace process.

At most, Arafat is said to have concluded a very tentative and fragile agreement with Hamas to suspend major terrorist outrages during the coming months so as not to prejudice further Israeli withdrawals.

If that is so, Israel will have no choice but to return to doing the job itself, albeit under infinitely worse conditions than prevailed prior to the withdrawal.

This lesson of the Ayyash affair must be impressed upon Arafat in other connections too. For all the enormous gap between the depravity represented by the suicide bombers trained, rigged out and

YOSEF GOELL

despatched by the Engineer and the more "mundane" problem of massive car thefts by Palestinians from the territories, the latter too is an outrage Israelis will not long tolerate.

When the intifada began to peter out, Palestinians began entering Israel and stealing vehicles, stripping them for parts in a number of undisguised car "abattoirs" in the areas slated for autonomy. Today, many recently stolen cars are driven with impunity throughout the territories, even by Palestinian police officers and other PA officials.

These thefts have now assumed plague proportions. In 1995, over 33,000 vehicles were stolen, a rise of 27 percent over 1994. The number was 3,000 in October alone, and 3,879 and 3,562 in the last two months, in the wake of the IDF's withdrawal from the major Palestinian towns.

The value of the vehicles stolen is estimated at close to NIS 1.3b., and the insurance companies are demanding that vehicle insurance rates be jacked up by 10 per cent, with car owners required to pay NIS 1,000 a year from their own pockets toward covering their losses.

With or without the territories, Israel is a tiny country, which should make it easier to combat such a plague. Our police, who admittedly carry a heavy burden, and their minister — now of Internal Security — often seem to per-

form like Hollywood's Keystone Kops. And yet they ought to be achieving better results on the vehicle theft front.

If they aren't, there is only one possible explanation: a political decision to do nothing that could upset the smooth transition of power to the Palestinians in the autonomy.

Prime Minister Peres and Minister Shabai may not have noticed, but Israelis love their cars — even more, some say, than their wives and husbands. They hate the thought of parting with thousands of shekels a year for additional insurance. They regard car thieves in much the same light as horse thieves used to be viewed in the Old West.

If nothing effective is done to stanch this plague — and quickly, this seemingly mundane issue may have a deadly impact on Peres' and Labor's electoral prospects.

The police and the insurance companies have come up with a plethora of expensive and non-effective proposals. But the key lies with Arafat, whose vastly overinflated police force could stop the whole thing in a few days, if ordered to.

But our leaders haven't impressed the seriousness of the situation upon Arafat.

Even so, surely a political pragmatist, as Arafat is touted to be, should be alive to his and the Palestinians' self-interest, and should take the initiative in fighting this plague.

The writer comments on public affairs.

Extent of injury

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

THE comparison made last week by Freih Abu-Melein, Palestinian head of justice, between the Palestinians' demand for compensation for injuries during the intifada and the reparations paid by Germany to Israel and Holocaust survivors rightly provoked anger from Israel, while confusing the issue.

Following armed conflicts between nations, winners have historically often demanded compensation from losers. It was customary in biblical times, and done after many of this century's wars (though it is now generally accepted as not necessarily being so wise. Many historians argue that the exorbitant reparations demanded from Germany in the aftermath of World War I contributed to the economic collapse that pushed so many Germans into the arms of the Nazis).

In a situation where an armed struggle between two peoples is settled by agreement rather than on the battlefield — as is happening today with Israel and the Palestinians — the question of compensation may come up, but on a mutual basis only.

It is up to the two sides to determine whether innocent civilians on each side who suffered losses at the hands of the other side's armed forces (regular or irregular) or in-

it is doubtful if any Palestinian leader really grasps what happened to the Jews in World War II

flamed mobs should receive compensation.

In our case, common sense suggests that were the principle of compensation accepted, it would open a Pandora's box the two sides would find very difficult to close again.

Jewish claims, for example, would go back to the disturbances of the 1920s, since when there have been thousands of Jewish victims of Palestinian terrorist acts.

On the opposite side there are thousands of Palestinian victims of Israeli military operations of one sort or the other. The crushing of the intifada, in which many innocent bystanders were hurt, is just one example.

Add to this compensation for Palestinian refugees who escaped or were forced out of their homes in what became Israel in 1948-49, and, on our side, compensation for Jews who escaped or were forced out of their homes in the Arab countries after 1949, and mutual claims could easily amount to billions of dollars.

There was certainly no need for Abu Melein to do further complicate such a highly charged issue. Bitter and painful as the Arab-Israeli conflict has been, nothing about it even vaguely resembles what Nazi Germany did to the Jews.

The Holocaust was not a war between two nations. It involved a deliberate decision by one nation to exterminate every member of another stateless and unarmed nation, a decision that was systematically and efficiently implemented.

That the exterminating nation should offer the survivors reparations was an elementary moral duty — though not all survivors believed they should be accepted.

TAKING an entirely different case, after the 1994 massacre at the Cave of the Patriarchs, Israel felt morally obliged to offer the families of the slaughtered Palestinians compensation, even though the perpetrator of the crime was a private individual who certainly did not represent the government or its policy. This was a moral issue par excellence.

Though Abu Melein was criticized by some of his Palestinian Authority colleagues for his comparison, and was apparently also reprimanded by Yasser Arafat, it is doubtful whether any Palestinian leader really grasps the difference between their own conflict with Israel and what happened to the Jews during World War II.

Beyond demanding an apology, Israel should consider organizing discreet and carefully planned visits by Abu Melein and some of his colleagues to Yad Vashem — not to convince them to drop any legitimate claims they might have against Israel, but simply to ensure that none of them ever again compares the plight of the Palestinians to the Holocaust.

The writer is a political scientist.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION

Sir, — Contrary to what Marilyn Henry wrote in her report of December 21, the Jewish Agency is not closing the AZYF. It is not ours to open or close. No Jewish Agency officials sit on its board and its policies are independent of us.

What the Jewish Agency has decided is to work with another subcontractor for the marketing of Israel programs for American Jewish youth.

We believe the new entity — currently being established by the Council of Jewish Federations, the United Jewish Appeal, the Jewish Agency and the Charles R. Bronfman Foundation — will be better positioned, better organized and better able to reach out to masses of US Jewish youth and bring them on "Israel Experience" programs.

This is not the AZYF's only function, however. And we certainly hope that their constituency of American Jewish supporters will continue to promote their other

activities.

Secondly, this was neither a sudden nor surprising decision. It followed an independent, in-depth evaluation of the AZYF's functioning, which we commissioned. It followed more than a year of joint deliberations, years of hurgoning indebtedness to us and a final decision adopted by the Joint Authority for Jewish Zionist Education in Jerusalem on November 3, in the presence of some of the same AZYF board members who expressed their "shock" to Henry.

The decision to work through a different supplier is part of the Jewish Agency's broader efforts to become more efficient, more effective and more relevant to changing world Jewish realities. While painful, some "historic" relationships will perform change.

LISA GANN-PERKAL, Director, Foreign Press Relations, The Jewish Agency for Israel Jerusalem.

BAD DRIVERS

Sir, — The typical driver: stop for a crosswalk and the next driver does not, nearly maiming a pedestrian; drive at a legal 100 km/h in the center lane of a three-lane highway and be passed on the right at 120 (or on the left shoulder); be in a traffic circle and get cut off by a car entering from the side. Everyone knows the story.

Let's open more eyes than there are already on the road. Well-trained and tested volunteers in Civil Guard traffic units have full authority to issue tickets when they are on duty. When they are off duty, why not let

them report the license numbers of those involved in traffic infractions to a central authority? Warnings might be issued and become part of the drivers dossier so that at a minimum when the driver receives a regular ticket, a judge can get a complete picture of his bad habits.

It may not be agreeable to have many hundreds of hidden eyes. It is also not pleasing to see hundreds killed and thousands hurt every year by bad drivers.

STEPHEN J. KOHN, Ra'anana.

MYANMAR'S JEWISH COMMUNITY

Sir, — I refer to the Associated Press report of December 28, "Burma's Jewish remnant." It mentions the fears about the removal of the Jewish cemetery in Yangon. I wish to inform you that we have been assured by the office of the mayor of Yangon (not Rangoon) that they do not have any plan to move the Jewish cemetery in Yangon, as reported.

Also I would like to bring to your notice that the name of our country has been officially changed for "Burma" to "Myanmar" since June 1989, and this change has been accepted by the nations of the world as well as by the UN and other international organizations.

KYAW ZEYA, Myanmar Embassy, Tet Aviv.

RECYCLING

Sir, — We have just returned to the US from a month-long visit to Israel. We were surprised how weak the effort is to recycle paper, plastics and metals. A country with few resources should be doing more.

Here, original efforts seemed futile because little was done with the collected materials but, at this juncture, recycling has become an important source of raw materials to the extent that stealing "waste" material has become an enforced criminal offense.

Surely, the entrepreneurial spirit still residing in Israel, despite years of socialist bureaucracy, should impel someone to turn this need into a profitable venture.

SYLVAN ZAVI BEER, Syracuse, N.Y.

Cease-Fire The Mellowing of The American Voter

By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON
F the movie "Network" were being re-made in 1996, the writers would be well advised to modulate the scene where Howard Beale, the messianic anchorman, implores discontented citizens to shout from their windows. In the updated version, Mr. Beale's call-to-arms might be: "I'm mad as heck and I'm not going to take it anymore!"

As the curtain lifts on an uncommonly consequential Presidential campaign season, voters, like an unappreciative audience, are still hissing. They are still cranky. They are still angry. But the raw, tomato-hurling fury that has characterized and transformed modern American politics, and brought a self-described revolutionary named Newt Gingrich to the center of the national political stage, has subsided a bit. To judge from interviews with more than 1,000 voters around the country over the last year, there has been a certain mellowing, due in part to a sense among Republicans as well as Democrats that politicians have heard and heeded their angry call. The Gingrich revolution has undermined the foundation of the New Deal and the Great Society. Now, an older-style federalism is back in fashion, and the national debate about Government's role has been recast.

A rough consensus that the budget should be balanced in seven years has been achieved; benefit programs like Medicare that were sacred cows only yesterday are under scrutiny as never before; unpopular departments and programs are being dismantled, and the power of the Federal Government is being trimmed. On Friday, the Republican Congress agreed to a partial end to the shutdown that has disrupted the Government for weeks, and both sides will renew crucial talks on a detailed spending plan.

That is not to say that voters are suddenly satisfied with their lives or their leaders, or that the deep economic insecurities and momentous world problems underlying the disaffection of 1992 and 1994 have even abated. They have not. Nor is there any certainty that the calmer political mood will survive the noise of the coming campaign. But it is as if the voters' bile and the bitter politics of repudiation have been spent. Voters had their chance to undermine their leaders, and they seized upon it with zest, sending George Bush back to Texas and humiliating President Clinton in the 1994 elections. Calls for change are still in the air, but revolution no longer seems quite so appealing. Now some of the nervous energy is directed at Mr. Gingrich and his band of conservatives: "Not so fast!" many voters are saying. "You're going too far!"

Voters appreciate how politicians finally seem to be giving more than lip service to their rage at Washington and its spending habits. They seem pleased that politicians are ready to curb welfare benefits. They like the talk of eliminating Federal agencies. They like the emphasis on values. Yet, with the consequences of that agenda largely unrealized, many voters fear that this legislative zeal might lead to a world where welfare mothers and their children sit helpless and hungry on the streets. While they agree that government is no panacea, voters still recoil at the declaration by Michael Huffing-

ton, a Republican who lost the race for Senate from California in 1994, that "I want a Government that does nothing."

Consider the septicisms of Kristine Anderson, 39, an architect in Tacoma, Wash., who voted for Mr. Clinton and grouches that the Republican takeover has made politics more unsettled than ever. "Change doesn't come very fast," Ms. Anderson said, "unless you're a Republican — and it happens too fast."

Indeed, in the random interviews — from Moreno Valley, Calif., to Puyallup, Wash., to Chicago to Murfreesboro, Tenn., to Easton, Pa., to Topeka, Kan., to Orlando, Fla., to Lincoln Park, Mich., to Ames, Iowa, to Denver to Keene, N.H., to Yorba Linda, Calif. — voters of all persuasions still sometimes resort to swear words when discussing politics. But the roughest edges have been smoothed, the angriest voices muted. In

1994, some voters even said they were thinking of leaving the country; no such threats are in the air now.

The central question for 1996 is whether this mellowed electorate will be able to resolve the conflict that it created by electing Mr. Clinton in 1992 and then sending Mr. Gingrich to the Speaker's chair in 1994.

Combined with the unsettled state of the voters, that conflict gives this campaign season an unusual air not only of importance but also of unpredictability. "This is the most abnormal election I've seen in the 30 years I've been in this," said former Representative Tony Coelho of California, who advised the Democratic Party during the 1994 elections. "My gut says it's not going to be normal."

Perhaps voters will consolidate the changes they began in 1994 by installing a Republican in the White House and solidifying Republican control of Congress. But as much as voters profess to deplore the gridlock in Washington, many seem to regard the alternatives with even greater distaste.

As he was teeing off for a golf game, Jeff Sweat, 28, a shipping supervisor in Nashville who voted for Republicans in 1994, blanched at the notion of one-party control. "Checks and balances help keep them both kind of honest," he said. "Gingrich has gone too far to the right, like Rush Limbaugh. I liked Rush Limbaugh at one time, but he's just gotten too far out."

The evidence of a tamer electorate can be seen in recent polls, showing that people credit politicians with some accomplishments. And the scattered off-year elections last fall demonstrated that voters were not eager for more revolution; in Virginia, they rejected Gov. George Allen's crusade to win Republican control of the General Assembly for the first time since Reconstruction.

And if talk radio is a gauge of voters' vitriol, consider that Mr. Limbaugh's ratings, while still titanic, have dipped.

That is not to say that Republicans have fallen from their perch; indeed, they have changed the terms of the debate. Mr. Gingrich may be the most unpopular political leader in America right now, but the battle

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Only in America
Where food is
confused with
medicine.

By William
Grimes **2**

In the Genes
When
science tinkers
with the soul.

By Gina
Kolata **3**



Dry Mission
No booze for
the boys in
Bosnia.

By Ian
Fisher **2**

The European
Citizenship gets
a new
look.

By Craig R.
Whitney **4**



The Nation

Good News on Drinking; Fries With That, Please

By WILLIAM GRIMES

ONE Manhattan, straight up, please. On second thought, make it a double. Uncle Sam says it's O.K.

In its latest health pronouncement, a revision of the Dietary Guidelines for Americans, issued on Monday, the Government declared that a moderate intake of alcohol appears to be beneficial to human health.

The health commissars, who in the past have tended to describe alcohol as though it were a cross between nitroglycerine and crack, took care to emphasize that "moderate" means a cocktail a day for women, or two for men. But for the first time they dared to say out loud that alcohol may lower the risk of heart attack.

In a startling revelation, announced through pursed lips, they also stated, "Alcoholic beverages have

The Government's new diet guidelines may be helpful, but Americans are mainly looking for ways to justify more cheeseburgers.

been used to enhance the enjoyment of meals in many societies throughout human history."

If the past is any guide, Americans can be counted on to boil down this carefully presented argument into two words: Let's party.

When it comes to diet, America is not rational. Reason counsels moderation and restraint in all things. It did to the Greeks 2,500 years ago and it no doubt did to the first hominoid who managed to stand upright and touch thumb to forefinger.

But there is something about moderation that runs directly against the American grain. This is a country that doesn't like speed limits, backs the right of every citizen to shoulder a grenade launcher and firmly believes that the aging process can be either slowed down or arrested entirely. No wonder that Americans frantically pick apart every new piece of scientific research on diet, looking for a magic bullet, a license to gorge.

"There is a need here, more than in any other country in the world, to eat bad food," said Alan

Richman, the food and wine writer for GQ magazine. "Where else do people eat two meals a day at cuchifrito stands? Americans eat like third-graders."

Remember the French paradox? Studies from France seemed to show that Lucky Pierre could feast on foie gras, confit de canard, and pork rillettes but somehow keep his arteries clear by drinking red wine, which apparently melted fat faster than a copper saucepan over a high flame. Now that was the kind of health news Americans like. Suddenly, liquor stores could not keep red wine on the shelves.

Less Fat, Eat More

How about fat substitutes? The promise of dessert without fat touched off an eating binge straight out of "Satyricon." Crazy consumers actually stalked the trucks delivering the Snackwell line of fat-free cookies and cakes and followed them right into supermarket parking lots. Nutritionists found themselves counseling distraught clients who could not figure out why eating several boxes of fat-free desserts every week would cause them to gain weight.

"In this culture, food is a reward system rather than a means of subsistence, and once you get past subsistence, you're indulging in cravings and fantasies," said Sarah Schlesinger, the author of "500 Fat-Free Recipes" and "Low-Fat and Fat-Free Appetizers, Snacks and Hors d'Oeuvres."

When Americans don't have their snouts in the trough, they turn around and practice bizarre forms of self-denial. American history is rich in fad diets that promise weight loss and spiritual health in one morally satisfying, if painful, package.

Dr. John Harvey Kellogg's experiments with purgative cures in Battle Creek around the turn of the century may be taken as the model: quack science, great p.r., ritual purification of the sinful body and, in the end, one successful business.

Kellogg's legacy can be seen in dozens of miracle diets based on the premise that if a little of a good thing is good, a lot is even better. Hence the all-grapefruit diet, the all-meat diet, the all-rice diet and, of course, oat bran, nature's little sponge for soaking up cholesterol.

America's love affair with oat bran was brief but heady. It brought the world many fascinating foods, notably the oat-bran potato chip. About the only products that didn't get the oat-bran treatment, in fact, were premium gasoline and designer menswear. A quick survey of the spreading American rear end, however, suggests that oat bran may have been seen not as a way to add beneficial fiber to the diet (the reasonable view) but as a license to load up on bacon double cheeseburgers.

Ms. Schlesinger, in her fat-free capacity, has seen



Nancy Carpenter

some grim sights. "People will eat enormous, hugely fat-filled ice-cream sundaes — totally binge out — at the same time that they are searching for something fat-free," she said.

Basically, Americans would rather sit tight and hold out for the scientific breakthrough that makes the boring, tedious stuff like exercise and a balanced diet superfluous.

"We know potato chips and pork sausage dripping with fat are bad for you," said Mr. Richman. "But we're waiting for them to put something into Jimmy Dean sausage that makes the pork disappear before it hits your stomach."

Instant Diet: Just Add Water

Who knows, the quick fix may lie just over the horizon. This week, scientists announced that they had isolated a protein, called GLP-1, that tells the brain when it is time for the body to stop eating. After being injected with the protein, lab rats on a normal diet

reached the same torpid, satiated state that humans achieve only after a consuming a tub of double fudge pecan ice cream.

Prospects look rosy. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future, willpower will come in tablet form.

In the meantime, the Government is happy to pass along helpful tips. Marion Nestle, a nutrition expert, applauded the Government for its courage in suggesting, among other things, that sugar should be consumed in moderation, that vegetables are good for you, fat isn't, and it probably makes more sense to eat a balanced diet than to consume handfuls of dietary supplements. "It's a miracle," she said last week. "It's a triumph of science and reason over politics."

A miracle? A gaggle of bureaucrats sitting in a room were able to produce advice that mothers have been giving their children for the past 40 years. Eat your vegetables. Enough with the sugar, you'll rot your teeth. Turn that TV off and go outside and play.

And, no. No way are you getting a Miller Lite in your lunch box.

No Beer for You, Soldier

French Zone, British Zone, Alcohol-Free Zone

By IAN FISHER

TUZLA, Bosnia and Herzegovina
HERE is a building on the NATO military base here that has become an object of wistful longing in the brains of many American soldiers in Bosnia. It is the Norwegian Post Exchange, a remnant of earlier peace-keeping missions, where the management stocks a full line of beer: two Norwegian brands, Heineken, Tuborg, Grolsch, Corona and — sorry, guys — Miller Genuine Draft.

"A beer," one 31-year-old American sergeant said last week, "would be good."

The Norwegian soldiers here can drink in moderation, as can the French, the Danes and the British.

But for Americans, the mission in Bosnia is supposed to be alcohol free. After the excesses of drugs and booze in Vietnam, the military learned that sober soldiers made better soldiers and, anecdotally at least, the policy paid off in the Persian Gulf War. Military officials say the usual run of accidents was reduced substantially there because of a hard no-drinking rule.

In Saudi Arabia, one big factor was fear of offending the strict Muslim sensibilities of the hosts, who ban alcohol as a matter of religion. The secular Muslims of Bosnia don't share such acute sensibilities, but for other reasons the policy of abstinence is even more important here.

Arguably, in fact, it cuts to the heart of the

The U.S. started its no-drinking rule in the Persian Gulf war, breaking centuries of military tradition.

American strategy in Bosnia. The mission is not likely to be judged on whether it brings real peace. That may be impossible. Rather, as the deployment winds down around the Presidential election next year, an already skeptical public will be counting closely how many men and women return alive, whole and healthy.

Safety First

This "not-a-hair-on-their-heads" strategy has been evident at every turn in this young mission, even when it has made the military look plodding. Early flights of soldiers and equipment into Tuzla were turned around



Plum brandy is the military drink of choice in the area, but a Serb meeting Americans near Orasje, Bosnia, offers coffee.

because of fog and snow. Maj. Gen. William L. Nash, the commander of the multi-national force in the American sector, weathered ridicule from other branches of the military and from locals for taking what appeared to be his own sweet time in building the bridge over the Sava River, the main supply route for troops into Bosnia.

Now, General Nash has made it clear he is willing to risk hurting morale by not allowing soldiers, who will be here for as long as a year, to drink or leave their posts to mingle amid the unknown dangers of local bars and restaurants. Soldiers here said they were ordered not to drink starting 48 hours before they left their bases in Germany.

"The No. 1 issue on morale is the security and force protection of the soldiers," he said at a news conference with Secretary of Defense William J. Perry here last week. "And that is paramount to all that we will

do. We will have many activities for the soldiers as this theater matures. It's much too early to talk about going downtown."

Drinking has often gone hand-in-hand with soldiering in wartime as a way to fight fear and boredom: There is the mythic rum ration for British sailors and stories of beer rations increasing for infantrymen of yore under heavy fire. Until recently, the French meal rations came complete with a small bottle of cognac. With typical Nordic precision, half of the 700 Norwegian troops in Bosnia must be completely alcohol free, while the other half are permitted to drink in moderation, a loosely-defined standard that one Norwegian private said appears to mean not acting drunk.

"It means you don't get yourself dead-drunk," Col. Brynjar Nymo, a NATO spokesman who is Norwegian, clarified. "You are allowed a beer or two, or a glass of cognac with your coffee. You don't sit and

drink all night."

With a twinge of American puritanism, the United States military has been more strict. The Navy, by long tradition, absolutely forbids drinking on its ships, unless the voyage lasts over 45 consecutive days. In that case, the commander can authorize two beers per sailor (but no hard liquor).

"It's just two beers," said Lieut. Commander Denny Moynihan, a Navy spokesman at the Pentagon.

The military missions to Haiti and Somalia also carried the no-drinking rule, military spokesmen said. In Bosnia, there is only one exemption: Among all three major factions in Bosnia, including Muslims, it is traditional to seal a pact or celebrate a weighty meeting with a shot of liquor (usually the native slivovitz, a plum brandy), and a refusal to join in could be seen as an insult. So a commander on the ground can permit a soldier involved in negotiations to

share a nip if the aim is to avoid giving offense.

"I'm not going to say a person can get rip-snorting drunk just to negotiate something," said Maj. Lew Boone, a spokesman for the United States European Command. But in isolated cases, he said, toasting to seal a deal is all right. "If the commander says that's fine, that will happen."

Among the American soldiers themselves, the policy has prompted mixed feel-

The idea is to keep everyone healthy, if not happy, for return to the States.

ings, with much dreaming about the Norwegian PX and how to smuggle in liquor (Listerine is apparently the same color as Jack Daniels) combined with an understanding of the sacrifice.

"They send Joe to Tuzla, Bosnia, give him live ammunition and trust him to do that," said Lieut. Bill Donovan, an otherwise loyal assistant to the press operations here. "But they can't trust him to have a beer on his time off? The message is inconsistent."

One of the young men behind the machine gun pointed at the main gate said he prefers not to have the choice, for himself or for other soldiers he might have to depend on. "When it comes down to it, if somebody ran this gate, it's my job to stop him," said Pfc. Trevor Macy, 21, of West Plains, Mo. "If I don't because I've been drinking, who's to blame?"

No Brawls

Down the main road, Staff Sgt. Kenton Lewis, a 30-year-old military policeman, said the policy makes his job much easier. "Being law enforcement, we don't have to break up any fights, go to any drunk driving accidents," said Sergeant Lewis, who by uncanny coincidence is also from West Plains, Mo., but did not know Private Macy. "I personally like a good beer every now and again," he said. "But there are too many people carrying weapons around here."

In the coming months, a NATO official said, it is possible that the American military will reconsider its strict rule on drinking, but not if the commanders feel the risk to safety is too high. "Right now it's force protection," said the official.

Ideas & Trends

Is a Gene Making You Read This?

By GINA KOLATA

DR. LEE SILVER, a biology professor at Princeton University, says the work he is doing is so simple that, to prove his point, he is allowing undergraduates to do it.

Dr. Silver is among a growing number of scientists searching for genes that predispose people to complex behavioral traits, like aggression or a tendency toward alcoholism or drug abuse or even toward daydreaming or thrill seeking.

The work can lead to new treatments for alcohol and drug abuse or even for excessively aggressive behavior, but it also has implications that are profound, even troubling. And so it leads inevitably to the question: Is some research best not done at all?

Although the quest for genetic links to behavior is old, the difference now, scientists say, is that techniques are suddenly available to find such genes. Only last week, researchers announced they had found a gene that gives people an impulsive personality.

Researchers, however, say people are not slaves to their genes and that environment plays a role. "We are not talking about genes that determine behavior," said Dr. John Crabbe, a neuroscientist at Oregon Health Sciences University in Portland. "We are talking about genes that influence behavior."

But as they get nearer to finding these genes, scientists are beginning to wonder what they have wrought.

Although most shy away from suggesting that such research be stopped, some scientists wish that it had not begun. Earlier in this century scientists raised questions about atomic fission and its consequences. In the 1970's scientists became skittish over genetic engineering and declared a temporary moratorium, fearful that adding foreign genes to bacteria might create an unconquerable disease. Today some scientists vehemently oppose transplanting organs from baboons to humans, worrying that an HIV-like virus in the baboon could set off another AIDS epidemic.

But scientists' qualms over the study of genes and

their link to behavior are different. One fear is that society might abuse the results, stigmatizing people whose genes linked them with low intelligence or drug addiction. But an even deeper fear is that science will soon be able to intervene — soothe an impulsive personality, quell a rapist's tendencies or dull an alcoholic's cravings. If every difficult behavior could be ameliorated, if every rough personality made smooth, "where is the core of the human soul?" Dr. Silver asked.

Free to Inquire

Several Princeton professors, including Dr. Silver, are passionately debating the issues surrounding genetically linked behavior, by E-mail and in discussion groups. Dr. Angela Creager, a historian of science, said she hesitates to say that some research should be banned. "Part of what makes science great is the freedom of inquiry," she said. But, she added, "I think there is research that we should really worry about."

Dr. Vincas Adams, a medical anthropologist at Princeton, said she worries that behavioral research is "stepping right up against, kissing with, eugenics."

Modern genetics has a tainted history in this country and Germany where early in this century scientists attempted to weed out the unfit and the feeble minded by sterilization. "When you find genetic bases for incurable conditions or behaviors that are socially not tolerated, you have to worry about what mechanisms are in place to help people," Dr. Adams said.

People with these genes might be rejected by insurance companies, Dr. Adams said, and be subjected to "restrictions on being able to reproduce."

Suggesting a different scenario, Dr. Silver said: "Let's say we could identify boys who have a tenfold higher potential to be rapists. What do you do with these children? On the one hand, you can restrict their freedom. You can imagine people saying they don't want that person in their neighborhood."

But Dr. Silver said, "There's the alternative — there's what this research might lead to." If scientists find genes that increase the odds that a boy will grow up to be a rapist, they could probably find ways to block

those genes, with drugs. Should the boys then be forced to take drugs although most would never rape?

Equally problematical are the implications of finding genes like the one for impulsiveness, Dr. Silver said. He said it is likely that scientists will find hundreds of such genes that together help determine personalities through subtle changes in brain chemistry.

People argued about Prozac and whether it was good or bad to alter peoples' personalities chemically. But, Dr. Silver said: "Prozac is like shooting a cannon at the brain. Now things are going to be much more specific. It will be like putting pins in." He said he did not know exactly when this would occur, but he said, "I think it's going to happen."

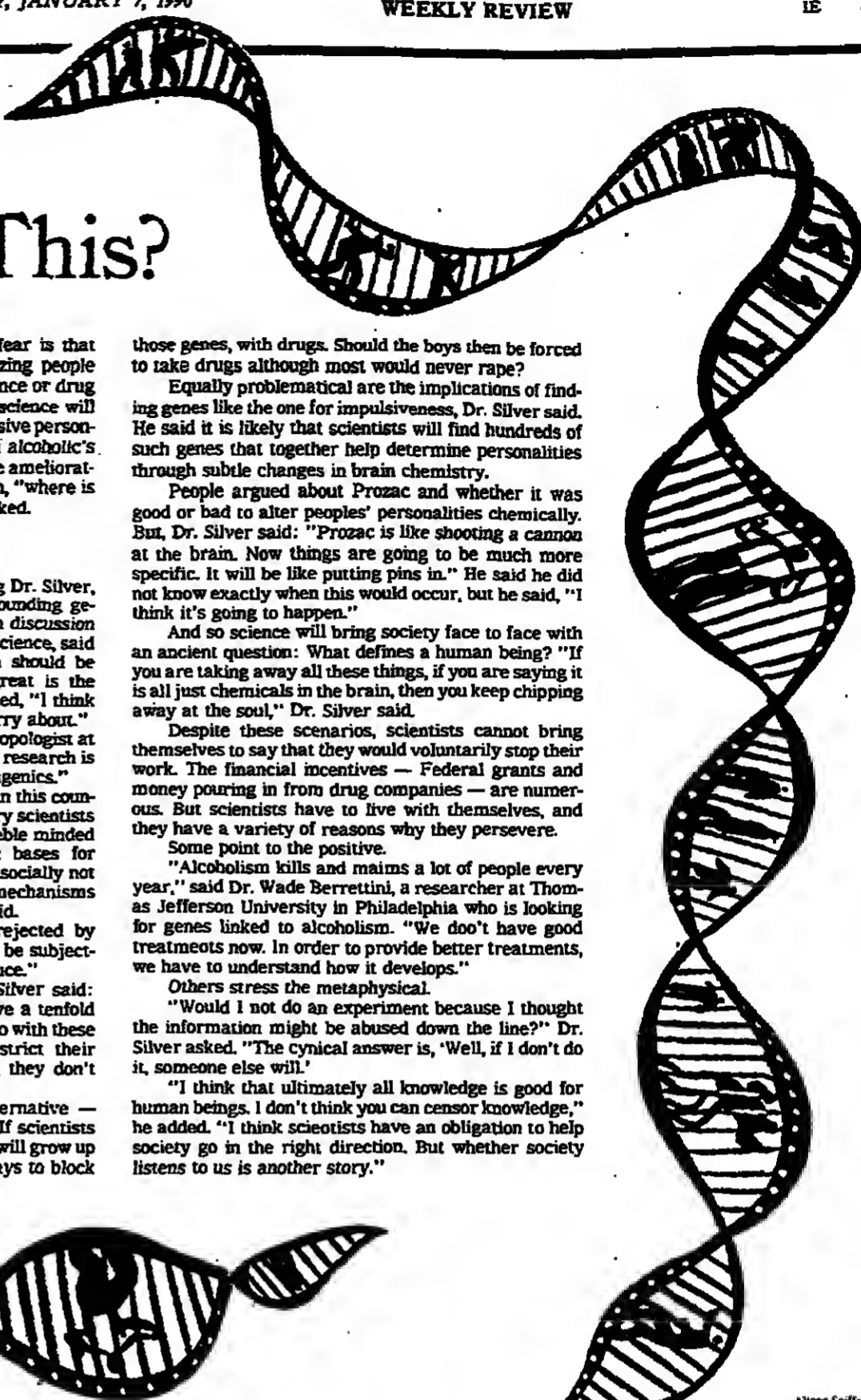
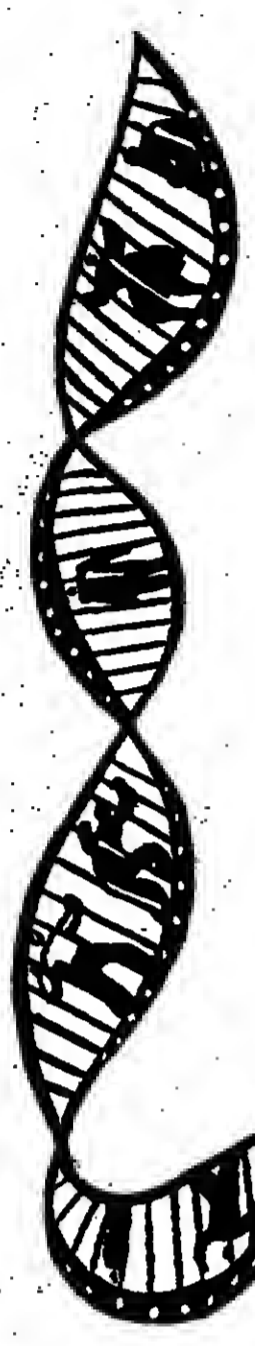
And so science will bring society face to face with an ancient question: What defines a human being? "If you are taking away all these things, if you are saying it is all just chemicals in the brain, then you keep chipping away at the soul," Dr. Silver said.

Despite these scenarios, scientists cannot bring themselves to say that they would voluntarily stop their work. The financial incentives — Federal grants and money pouring in from drug companies — are numerous. But scientists have to live with themselves, and they have a variety of reasons why they persevere.

Some point to the positive. "Alcoholism kills and maims a lot of people every year," said Dr. Wade Berrettini, a researcher at Thomas Jefferson University in Philadelphia who is looking for genes linked to alcoholism. "We don't have good treatments now. In order to provide better treatments, we have to understand how it develops."

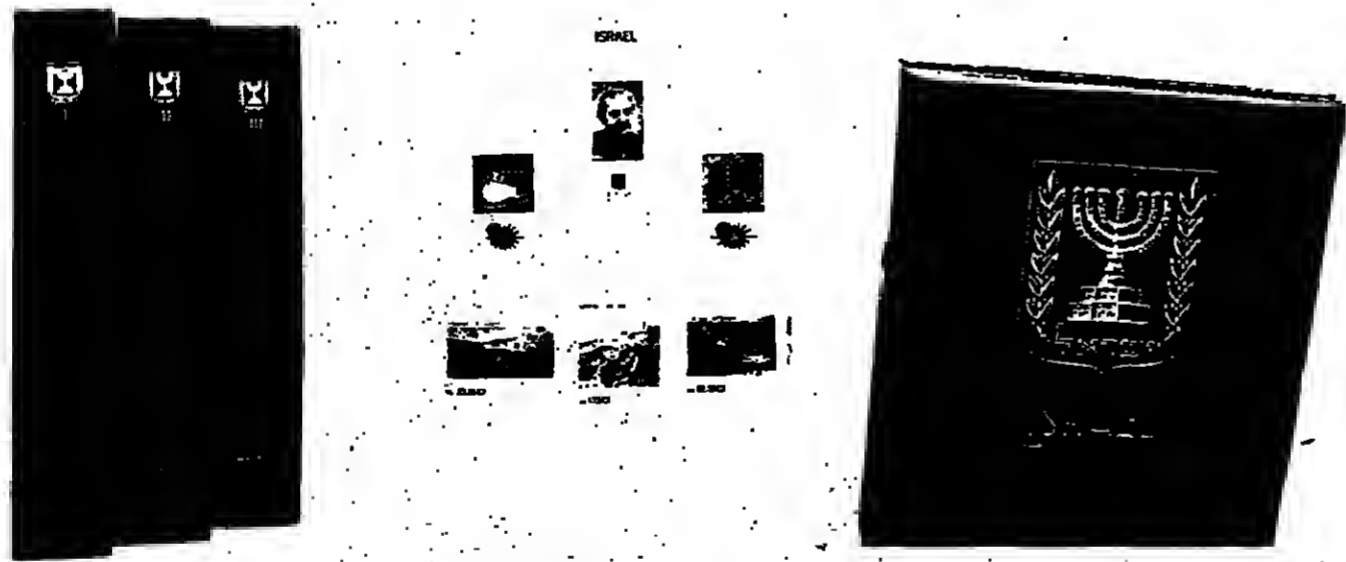
Others stress the metaphysical. "Would I not do an experiment because I thought the information might be abused down the line?" Dr. Silver asked. "The cynical answer is, 'Well, if I don't do it, someone else will.'"

"I think that ultimately all knowledge is good for human beings. I don't think you can censor knowledge," he added. "I think scientists have an obligation to help society go in the right direction. But whether society listens to us is another story."



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The Mellowing Of the American Voter

Continued from page 1

is being fought more or less on his terms. And the fervor for third party or independent candidates has dissipated. Last week, the Reform Party established by Ross Perot failed to gather enough signatures to qualify as a political organization in Maine, where Mr. Perot had his best showing in the 1992 Presidential race. Also last week, Senator Bill Bradley, a New Jersey Democrat who had flirted with an independent bid, made clear that he will not run.

Mission Accomplished

It could be that people think their rage has paid off. Rawls Ray, 50, a computer operator in Murfreesboro who backed Mr. Perot in 1992, said, "Everyone's anger made it easy for them to accomplish what they wanted to: the Government has to be more conservative about spending money."

A more cynical explanation for the electorate's relative calm is resignation. It could be that after years of throwing the bums out, some voters have concluded that they will never get what they want. "The economic problems that affected voters two and four years ago are still around," said Robert Joffe, an independent pollster in Miami. "The sentiment is, 'We tried this, we tried that, but that doesn't mean everything's better. I'm not going to expect any magic solutions.'"

One who has lowered his expectations is Robert Farrar, 35, a firefighter and contractor in South Laguna, Calif., who lamented: "The best people in the country aren't in politics because they're too smart."

But while voters seem to expect less of government, they still worry that they will not be able to pay for medical bills, bousing, their children's educations and their own retirements. Because of these continuing economic concerns, the Federal budget machinations threaten to revive the full-blown rancor against politics-as-usual.

After visiting his district in the Florida panhandle, Representative Joe Scarborough, a freshman Republican, allowed that he was subjected to his share of recriminations over the budget: "People aren't bashing the President. People aren't bashing Congress. They're bashing everybody."

The dilemma for politicians is that voters appear to want it all: They want the budget balanced but they do not want cuts that would unduly hurt poor people. They want universal health care, but not if it could limit their choice of doctors. They want Mr. Clinton to keep the country out of Bosnia, but they want him to prove his foreign policy bona fides. They attack a politician for pandering, yet they want to know why that politician has not helped their pet cause.

Take Dallas W. Jolley, 40, a lawyer and a Republican in Puyallup, Wash., who spoke in one breath with enthusiasm and wariness about the House Republicans' Contract With America. "I'd like to hear about real cuts," said Mr. Jolley. "But I don't want them to go too far. I don't want them to hurt people."

Then he added: "My parents are in their 70's and I appreciate them getting some help on their medical expenses."

Victor Myers, 75, a retired insurance

agent from Orange, Calif., described himself as a staunch Republican. "We've got to get the budget balanced," he said. "But, of course, we don't want Medicare tampered with much."

Mike Pagan, 51, a retired police officer in Moreno Valley, Calif., called the welfare system "stupid," saying, "I don't believe we should have girls with babies running around picking up money for free."

"We should dump it," Mr. Pagan said of the current system. "But that doesn't mean we should hurt people."

Mr. Gingrich embodies the sentiment that politicians are going too far. In the interviews, hundreds of voters — Republicans and Democrats alike — responded with tortured body language at the mention of his name: some smirked, others waved him off, saying they did not want to talk about him. Many just rolled their eyes.

"Newt scares me, he's a little bit frightening."

Republicans lean to the Bob Dole shade of conservatism.

ing to me," said Doug Rhodes, 52, a cotton and soybean farmer near Murfreesboro who usually votes Republican. "It's all right to go a little bit conservative. But it seems like he likes power awfully well."

That may explain why after spending nearly \$20 million last year, Senator Phil Gramm's campaign for the Republican nomination is stalled in single digits. More than anyone in the field, the Texan represents the spirit of the Gingrich Congress. Republican voters so far are more comfortable with the split-the-difference conservatism of Senator Bob Dole.

When asked about their dream choices for President, voters of both parties brought up one name again and again: Harry S. Truman. But he probably couldn't live up to their ideals, either. The man from Independence is a lot more popular now than he was a half century ago.

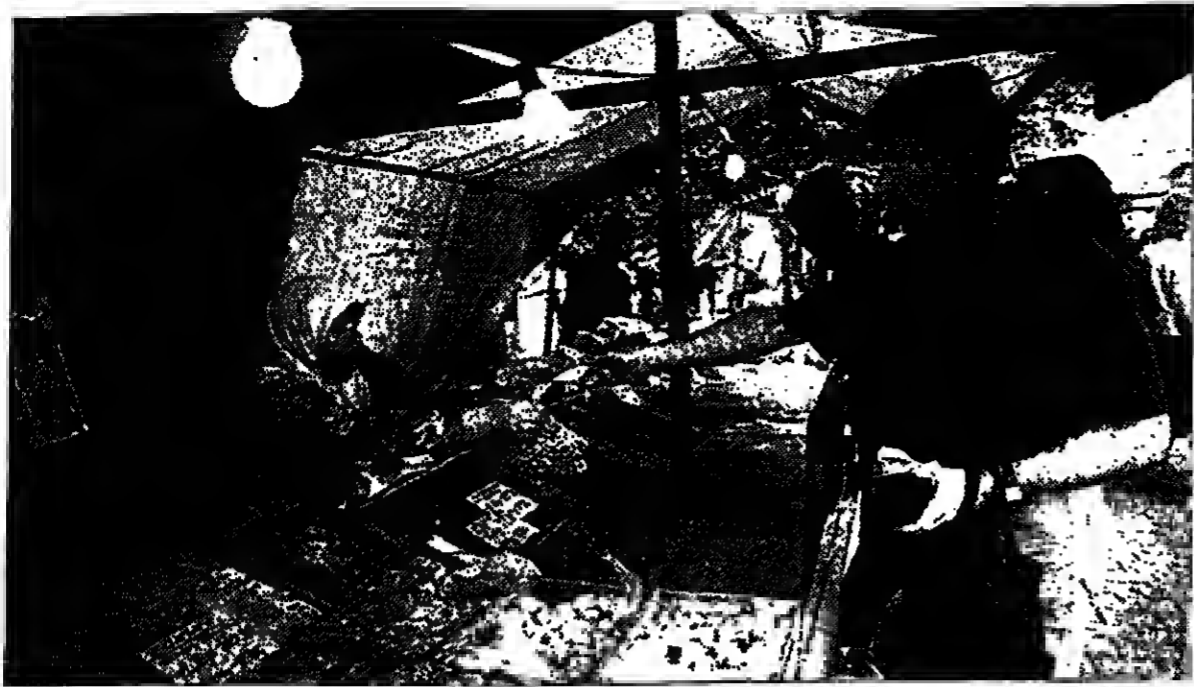
And politicians should not be fooled into thinking that the electorate suddenly regrets its contradictory impulses, or accepts the compromises needed to recollect them. The language may have grown a tad more reasonable, but the demands can be something else again.

Listen to Roger Gross, 48, a phone company installer in Tacoma, whose advice to the President about slashing spending sounds fair enough — for a moment: "Just go in there and pick one of the Cabinet members and say, 'Your operating budget is going to be 30 percent less and I want you to reduce 70 percent of that out of manpower.' They'll figure out how to work more efficiently."

Then there was Helen Whitworth, 47, a kindergarten teacher in Murfreesboro who accused Republicans of trying to destroy Medicare and ruin education programs. "That's not the only way to cut the deficit," she said.

What, then, is another way? Mrs. Whitworth just shrugged.

The World



Turkish workers in Germany, even children born there, are rarely able to obtain German citizenship.



A human rights group estimates that 20,000 Gypsies have been denied Czech citizenship since 1993.

Europeans Redefine What Makes a Citizen

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

CHILDREN born on French soil to foreign parents used to acquire French citizenship automatically, but since 1993 they have had to apply for it before their 18th birthdays. Like the rest of Western Europe, France has tightened citizenship rules to discourage immigration. Nearly three million people in France, immigrant and native alike, are unemployed, and extreme-right political movements have persuaded 15 to 20 percent of the electorate that unemployment would vanish if the immigrants went home.

In Germany, it can be easier for a child whose family lived in Russia for 200 years to become a German citizen than it is for an American or for the German-born child of a Turkish "guest worker," even if that child speaks no Turkish and has been educated in German schools. Germany defines citizenship by bloodline. So Russian descendants of the ethnic Germans whom Catherine the Great brought over to farm the Volga River Valley can come back to Germany as citizens under the country's law of return. But most others wanting to acquire German citizenship might find it easier to pass through the eye of a needle.

Britain, which admitted millions of people from its former African and Asian colonies until the 1970's, long ago raised the barriers. A proposal in the late 1980's to try to settle nerves in Hong Kong, which reverts to China next year, by giving full British passports to thousands of the colony's most dynamic business leaders and investors met with howls of protest from British politicians afraid of a backlash from their constituents. A recent attempt by Chris Patten, the colony's Governor-General, to revive the proposal fell on deaf ears.

While the creation of European Union points to a continent drawing closer together, with many countries issuing European rather than national passports, the efforts to limit immigration seem to be resulting in more rigid definitions of citizenship rather than more relaxed ones.

Still Guarding the Borders

The anti-immigrant mood is widespread in Europe these days, and it's one of the reasons why the 15-nation Union has not yet made good on a promise made five years ago to do away with internal border controls and create a true common market that could eventually stimulate the economic growth needed to bring down chronic high unemployment.

Nine of the 15 nations eventually agreed to try to do away with inspection of passports and identity cards at crossing points along their borders by Jan. 1, 1993, but that was postponed by more than a year. Belgium, Germany and Spain don't guard their frontiers with France anymore but France, despite its claim to be at the core of the new Europe, unilaterally delayed the elimination of border controls by six more months at the turn of the year.

The French are worried about drug smuggling as well as illegal immigrants, and basically they aren't yet confident that their neighbors will do the job of barring the door for them as well as they can do it themselves.

For centuries, most of Europe has defined nationhood by ethnicity, even if citizenship follows different rules. Liberty, equality and fraternity means French citizenship today for 1.8 million people whose ancestors weren't Gauls, most of them from its former North African colonies.

But in Germany, a country where 6.9 million foreigners live, barely a trickle ever become citizens. Of the nearly 2 million Turks living there, only 19,000

acquired German citizenship in 1994. Many who might qualify (by having lived in Germany for 15 years without a criminal record and by being self-supporting) don't apply because they would have to give up Turkish citizenship and the right to own or inherit property in Turkey, if they ever got it.

Citizenship, immigration and asylum are all connected issues. After the unification of Germany in 1990, refugees began pouring into the country, and in 1992, 438,191 people from the Balkans, central Europe and elsewhere claimed political asylum there. What most of them really wanted was a better life, but until 1993, German asylum law entitled anybody who set foot on German soil to make a claim and to make years of appeals if the claim was denied.

The seemingly uncontrollable influx led to firebombings and anti-foreigner violence by neo-Nazi and other extremist groups and to a more general public clamor to cut back the flow of asylum-seekers.

In 1993, the German Parliament changed the asylum law to make it possible for German authorities to repel unqualified applicants at the point of entry. Asylum applications plummeted, and last year they had dropped to about 127,000.

More than half of these people were fleeing countries where xenophobia exploded into war. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of people who had lived as "Yugoslavs" in a multi-ethnic state were driven out of their homes, raped and murdered simply because they happened to be Muslim, Croat or Serb.

Can Slovaks Be Czechs?

While Bosnia may be an extreme example, the results of intolerance can be seen elsewhere. Even in the Czech Republic, widely viewed as the most tolerant and democratic of all the formerly communist states of

central Europe, a Czech human rights group estimates that about 20,000 Gypsies have been denied citizenship since 1993. No citizenship means no health benefits or pension rights, and Gypsies are not the only ones who have problems because of the Czech Republic's law, which grants citizenship most easily to ethnic Czechs. Slovaks, no matter how long they had lived in the Czech part of the country, became foreigners the instant the country split up, and had to apply for Czech citizenship if they wanted it. Many did not qualify. International organizations have urged Czech officials to change the law, but so far they have made no move to do so.

Problems like these exist on a larger scale throughout much of the former Soviet Union, causing political insecurity in central and eastern Europe. Disenfranchised Russian minorities in Belarus, Ukraine and the Baltics look to Russia for protection that Russian nationalists like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy would be only too happy to give them.

Chaos produces political backlash, which is why the nationalist, Communist and Agrarian opposition to President Boris N. Yeltsin will have about 250 of the 450 seats in the Parliament that was elected last month.

Here in France, where double-digit unemployment may be the undoing of the welfare state, the right-wing National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen wins votes by saying that the 3 million unemployed French workers would find jobs if 3 million immigrants would go back where they came from.

But demographic experts say he's wrong. Low birth rates in France, and in Germany and Britain too, mean that workers from outside will be needed to pay the pensions of the baby-boomers who will start retiring after the turn of the century.

Maintaining their high standard of living is definitely something that appeals to the hearts of well-off Europeans, who might eventually be driven by economic self-interest into simplifying citizenship rules.

When Peacekeepers Turn Into Troublemakers

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

AS the United Nations was getting ready to turn over its mission in Bosnia to an American-led force under NATO command, a group of leaders of human rights and women's organizations wrote to Madeleine K. Albright, the American representative on the Security Council, to ask some pointed questions.

Would American troops get the necessary training to avoid "Okinawa-type situations" — three American servicemen are being tried in a Japanese court in the abduction and rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl — and would they also be on the lookout for abusive behavior of any kind among the soldiers from about 30 other nations under American command? Would American troops abroad be living under the rules and laws they must obey at home, setting an international standard?

As armies find themselves less at war and more often on the flimsy barricades of peace, stationed among desperate and vulnerable people stripped of privacy and dignity, the behavior of military men and women in peacekeeping missions is coming under new scrutiny around the world.

In fact, the American soldiers are under tough restrictions — no alcohol and no off-base entertainment excursions (article, page 3). And in their initial contacts with Bosnians, many have shown an effort to be understanding of the distressed population.

But, as the concerns expressed in the letter reflect, in Bosnia the Americans are being thrown into a mix of peacekeepers from other lands who may have other habits — habits that have led to excesses excused over the centuries with the indulgent explanation, "Boys will be boys."

Bars and Brothels

Three years ago in Cambodia, for example, 170 people wrote a letter to Yasushi Akashi, the Secretary General's representative in charge of the nation-rebuilding effort, to complain about the behavior of peacekeepers and civilian officials on his international team. The harassment of women, the letter said, "occurs regularly in public restaurants, hotels and bars, banks, markets and shops." Cambodian and other Asian women working for the United Nations were assigned inferior roles and social standing. "Women have little access to redress," the letter said.

The bad behavior was not limited to abuse of women. There were bar fights, brawls and shootouts and a proliferation of brothels, stolen vehicles and general drunken



Bosnia is just meeting a new array of foreigners in helmets, replacing U.N. forces. Behind the fence in Sarajevo are U.S. marines.

boorishness. Geographical origins were no indicator of what to expect. While some Asian and African troops got out of line, it was the soldiers of a Bulgarian battalion who had the worst reputation. They went down in local legend as "the Bulgarians."

On the other hand, Bangladeshi soldiers, drawn from a poor and fractious country, are remembered for discipline and humanity. They had a commander who rewarded bad behavior with a flight home in disgrace.

"Because international forces are the dominant presence in many more countries, there is a growing recognition that they must abide strictly by international humanitarian law and the rules of war," said Kenneth Roth, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, which has been waging a campaign to get the United Nations and the

United States to enforce a 1977 protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention that deals with treatment of civilians. "They are setting the tone for the nation that is to emerge from the peacekeeping effort."

Mr. Roth said that in maintaining personal rectitude and avoiding the indiscriminate or extralegal use of military power, international forces fell short in Cambodia and Somalia (the Americans at the time were criticized for using massive firepower on raids inside the capital). "The mess that Cambodia finds itself in today is in large part a product of the U.N.'s failure to strictly uphold the rule of law," he said, when the U.N. was the law.

In Somalia in 1993, a Canadian airborne force disgraced itself by torturing and murdering a teen-aged Somali caught stealing.

In the ensuing investigations, videotapes were found that documented racist behavior and language among the soldiers, who called Somalis "nig-nogs" and joked about going hunting for some. The airborne unit was disbanded a year ago.

On the hilly streets and hidden byways of Rwanda's capital, Kigali, an encounter with the blue helmets of United Nations peacekeepers is still not always a reassuring experience, the Rwandese say. They accuse foreign troops, some but not all of them, fellow Africans, of illicit trading, hit-and-run driving, sexual harassment and criminal abuse of a diplomatic immunity they have bestowed on themselves. The disruptive personal behavior of some troops has been a factor in Rwanda's demand that all peacekeepers be withdrawn from the country,

said Manzi Bakuramutsa, the country's envoy to the United Nations.

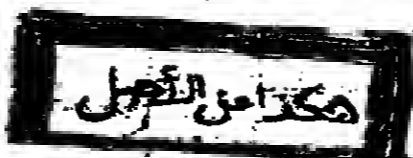
When it comes to human rights, civil rights, political liberties and the rule of law, the United Nations is often on weak ground generally, even as it tries to forge a stronger role for itself in fostering democracy and political development. The problem is that however lofty its stated ideals, they are often tethered to the desires and habits of the lowest common denominator, the least enlightened of the organization's 185 members. Twice recently, for instance, films have been pulled at the last minute from the screening rooms at the United Nations headquarters. One was "Vukovar," about the collapse of that Croatian city with a theme sympathetic to the Serbs who were the aggressors (Croatia stepped in to censor the event). The military rulers of Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, were next: They yanked "Beyond Rangoon," about an American tourist caught up in the Burmese military crackdown of 1988. And this in the United Nations' officially proclaimed "Year of Tolerance."

No Classrooms

Unlike civilian United Nations missions, where courses or seminars on how to be a good international citizen are part of the preparation, peacekeeping forces are cobble together with no formal effort to universalize rules of behavior. Officials, who have trouble just finding troops, say there is no global curriculum, time or money for such instruction. Each country is responsible for disciplining and enlightening its own troops. "This is a critically important issue," said Felice D. Gaer of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights in New York. Ms. Gaer, one of the signers of the letter to Ms. Albright, says the history of the Bosnia operation has repeatedly been marred by reports of abuses among the European troops who dominated the United Nations forces. Eighty percent of those peacekeepers are now part of the NATO-led operation.

"People look up to the U.N. and expect it to live up to a higher calling, to the higher standards the U.N. itself proclaims," she said in an interview. The same should now be expected of a NATO-led force, she added.

"This applies to the Russians, it applies to the Jordanians, it applies to the Americans or to the Indonesians," she said. "No one, including military officers, has an exemption from a universal standard of human rights."



ECONOMY

Yes, He's Revived Sears. But Can He Reinvent It?

By JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI

HOFFMANN ESTATES, Ill. IT'S 9 A.M. on a November Friday. The auditorium at Sears, Roebuck & Company's headquarters here in suburban Chicago is filled with balloons. More than 900 employees jam the seats and spill over onto the floor.

A spotlight breaks the semidarkness, revealing a ringmaster. "Welcome to the Sears P.S.E. Circus," he says. "It's eye-popping. Death-defying. Larger than life. Well, not death-defying."

Next comes Jim La the clown, in orange hat, turquoise-and-pink jacket and plaid pants. He tells a few corny jokes. Then he breaks into a rap song, ending with "we work real hard; now it's time to play. Hey, hey, what do you say?"

What has this got to do with Sears? The next verse does work in "come see the softer side of Sears," straight from the campaign advertising the company's expanded clothing departments. The following one mentions customer service. And it helps to know that Sears sponsors the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey circus's national tour as part of its appeal to families. Even so, questions linger. Shouldn't these people be working?

Arthur C. Martinez, chief executive of Sears, wanted town hall meetings, pep rallies really. The P.S.E. (for pure selling environment) circuses — which dovetailed with the sponsorship — were the results. He wanted, as one aide put it, "to create common ground, to make sure people understand what he's doing."

What Mr. Martinez is trying to do

at Sears is foment a cultural revolution, a re-education effort that would make Mao proud.

Mr. Martinez has already made monumental changes. When retailers released their holiday sales figures last Thursday, Sears was no longer a laggard. It was the star. In the worst season since the 1990 recession, other big stores posted minimal gains or losses, but Sears registered a 9.2 percent sales increase. In domestic stores open a year or more, the gain was 6.8 percent.

And that comes on top of an impressive earlier record. As soon as Mr. Martinez became head of the Sears retail operations in 1992 — when Sears still owned insurance and financial services businesses — he started spending \$4 billion to remodel shabby stores. He upgraded the merchandise and added private-brand apparel and cosmetics at the faded American institution, which was once known affectionately as the Big Store. He revamped marketing.

Sears, again just a retailer, was back. Revenue climbed 5.9 percent in 1995 to about \$35 billion, while net profit, \$890 million in 1994, probably grew to \$995 million, according to a conservative estimate by Goldman, Sachs. In 1995, the company's stock price jumped nearly 71 percent, closing at \$39 on Dec. 29 — a gain second only to Merck among the 30 blue-chip stocks in the Dow Jones industrial average. The Standard & Poor's index of 32 retailers including Sears, meanwhile, increased just 10.3 percent.

But that was the easy part. As the just-passed holiday season showed, the retail environment is brutal. America is over-stored, and brand-

name retailers like Bradlees and Caldor are among the many who have belly-flopped into bankruptcy court.

Sears will survive. But unless it woos new, loyal customers, the Big Store is unlikely to thrive. Diminishing its profitability, for example, is an annual sales-per-square-foot figure that, at \$365, lags behind that of Wal-Mart as well as its own goal of topping \$400 by 1998. "What was good enough to get us where we are is not good enough to get us going forward," Mr. Martinez said recently, his deep blue eyes looking earnest and ambitious.

If employees can be convinced — by circuses or whatever — that change is a must, they may alter their behavior willingly and accept Mr. Martinez's attempts to decentralize and restructure Sears for growth.

That's the theory. And with the help of consultants like McKinsey & Company and A. T. Kearney, he is pushing programs to change the way people think about and go about their jobs.

The effort goes far beyond pep rallies. It includes discussion groups, training sessions, new job descriptions, new operating structures and a new pay system — all intended to place decision making closer to the customer and make it customer friendly. And it involves employees, soliciting their ideas, letting them experiment and improving their skills as they reach for better performance. It is a blend of Barnum and business school basics.

"We're trying to take it beyond the classroom and get it into an environment where people can get energized," Mr. Martinez explained. "That's better than a 25-minute videotape of the chairman." In a service business, the best workers are happy about doing their jobs.

And so, at 9:20 A.M., Patricia A. Recktenwald, vice president for store operations, takes over from Jim La and turns the circus into a serious, though still amusing, training exercise. In gold-and-silver sequined tails, Ms. Recktenwald repeats a Martinez goal — stripping some reporting requirements and administrative tasks from store managers and clerks so they have more time to actually sell.

"Store managers were only spending 20 percent of their time on the sales floor," she said. "Now they are spending 30 to 90 percent of their time on the floor."

"Some of our managers didn't know how to work a register," she added, a measure of how removed they were from store operations. "They had moved up because they filled in reports well."

But if the jobs of store "associates" — company argot for managers and rank-and-file employees alike — are changing, so too are those of the support staff at headquarters, the associates at this circus. Some of them will lose their jobs.

Many more will be reassigned, thanks to the work of four task forces, one studying the big mall stores; another looking at the free-standing, off-the-mall hardware and home-related stores; a third reviewing the automotive stores, and the last studying the headquarters support staff.

"Their job is to help structure the company for growth and increase the accountability and responsibility further down the organization," Mr. Martinez said. "We want them to define what has to happen to create opportunities for growth in new areas and sustain opportunities for growth in mall stores." The ultimate goal, of course, is bigger profits.

When he tapped these management teams in October — using managers' input like this was a total departure for Sears — Mr. Martinez gave them a 90-day deadline.

The day before the P.S.E. circus is rainy, and the gray furniture in a gray conference room matches the mood of the 15 or so Sears employees sitting around a big table in a room a few steps away from their offices in the advertising department.

A discussion leader, their boss, is asking them to answer basic questions, Socratic-style, about the business: Why is Sears targeting women? How well is Sears meeting shoppers' needs?

"The merchandise and the stores

Sears, Roebuck At a Glance

Table with financial data for Sears, Roebuck & Company, including Friday's close, 52-week low/high, market capitalization, 1995 sales, estimated 1995 earnings, estimated 1996 earnings, debt to capital, price to estimated 1995 earnings, price to book, and dividend yield.

THINGS TO WATCH Customers are carrying larger average credit balances (\$642 per person, as of Sept. 23, 1995) and are taking longer to pay (just over six months), forcing Sears to raise its provisions for bad debts and maintain a high level of debt itself.

are improving," he said, sharing the results of a customer survey. "But what drives our overall score down is service."

Customer satisfaction numbers for Sears and its rivals, tallied by a consultant, indeed deliver bad news. The Sears score in 1994 was 69 out of 100, lower than Kmart's (70), J. C. Penney's (71) and Wal-Mart's (78). The complaints would be funny if they were not real:

• "There were plenty of cash registers but there's never anyone at them."

• "We were looking for an oven. The salesperson knew nothing. We went elsewhere."

• "Twice I called and was told an item was in stock, but when I got there it wasn't."

Finally, the leader unveils a chart that breaks down the resolution of customer complaints and shows how those customers feel. "The implication is, even if we resolve a complaint, many customers won't come back."

Conversation in the room has jumped from topic to topic, but the customer is the common thread. Guiding the talk is a "learning map," a multicolored chart the size of two Monopoly boards that sits on the table. Every one of the company's 300,000 workers journeyed around copies of this particular learning map in 1995.

This is their second learning map. The first, completed by everyone between April and September, covered the general retail environment. It pointed out that today's consumers are time-strapped shoppers who have many stores to choose among for whatever they buy. To compete, Sears had to provide more service, convenience and value. After discussing these points, Mr. Martinez's plans to put more emphasis on specialized stores outside malls made more sense to employees.

This month, Sears employees will again start sitting down to go over a third learning map, this one explaining where the money comes from and goes to at Sears.

"We are trying to build a level of economic literacy so they can make the right decisions," explained Barbara Lehman, director of the special communications initiative.

In the old days, Sears employees could check their economic literacy at the door. They worked in a command-and-control environment, where everything was decided for them or laid out in a 29,000-page manual of rules and procedures.

Mr. Martinez tossed out the manual. In its place, he put a folder called "Freedom and Obligations." Measuring about an eighth of an inch thick, it contains a one-page letter from him; a one-page list of "shared beliefs" (like "we recognize our obligation to shareholders: profitable growth and superior total shareholder return"); a 16-page booklet outlining leadership principles for managers ("reward people who add value to Sears"); and a 17-page code of business conduct for every employee ("we must always describe products and services accurately").

Suddenly, participatory management was in. Store managers and associates were allowed to think for themselves, to experiment. "Our focus is to push ownership down and have people take responsibility," Ms. Lehman said.

But it is dangerous to ask that of employees unless they share a common frame of reference. So the learning map exercises, the town hall meetings, Sears University and other training exercises were born.

Mr. Martinez came to Sears from the vice chairman's post at Saks Fifth Avenue. He was brought in by Edward A. Brennan, who ran the larger, diversified Sears for nine years before finally bowing to shareholder pressure and spinning off the nonretailing businesses, one by one, the last few years. Even its trophy headquarters building, the Sears Tower in Chicago's Loop, is gone. When Mr. Brennan finished the task last summer, he retired. In August, Mr. Martinez, 56, became chief executive of the slimmed-down company.

He had never staged pep rallies at Saks. "The difference is that this is an organization that needed to start feeling good about itself and its customers," he said.

Sears had long since lost its status as an American retailing icon in the face of new competition from the likes of Wal-Mart and category killers like Circuit City and Bed, Bath and Beyond. As sales stagnated, its stores suffered from inattention. Nobody likes working at an ailing company. And customers sensed it.

Sears is not yet flying high, though it is gaining altitude. "He is now taking market share away from stores above him and from many specialty stores as well as from stores below him, the discount stores," said Kurt Barnard, president of Barnard's Retail Marketing Report.

Sometime in 1994, Sears had gained enough sales momentum for Mr. Martinez to focus on corporate culture. "Sears' fundamental problem was arrogance from past success," Mr. Martinez said. "That blinded it to what was going on in the competitive arena and with customers."

His prescription: "We have to change how we think about ourselves and what we want to be known for," Mr. Martinez said. "That's how we came to the three C's."

"The three C's" is internal shorthand for the overarching theme at Sears. The actual slogan, introduced in 1994, is: "A compelling place to shop/work/invest."

Mr. Martinez believes that, until recently, when Mr. Brennan reversed course, Sears tried to march to Wall Street's beat, diversifying for growth and basing incentive pay on return on equity. But failing to please shoppers and workers alike ended in failure with investors, too.

Make no mistake, said Anthony J. Rucci, executive vice president for human resources and administration, "a compelling place to work does not mean a nice place to work. We want people to feel some degree of anxiety, the stress of achievement-oriented people."

Like other companies in the throes of cultural change, Mr. Martinez has made it clear that the new Sears is not for everybody. "Arthur said last March to senior management, leave or change," Mr. Rucci said. Of the top 100 managers, those heavily involved in designing the Sears of the future, about 40 are new employees.

Everyone will have to stretch to meet the company's new goals. Despite pronounced improvement made since 1992, Mr. Martinez wants financial results that will put Sears among the nation's top performers in the stock market. To him, that means a return on equity consistently above 25 percent. "We're on the verge of meeting that imminently," he said on Friday. The trick will be to keep it there.

To get there, he figures that operating margins in the Sears mall stores should be 5 percent by 1998, compared with 2.3 percent now. Inventory turnover, now 3.67 times a year, needs to be about 4.5. Overhead expenses, now 20.7 percent of revenues, should drop to 19 percent.

As managers and workers strive toward the targets, Mr. Martinez believes he has one big thing working in his favor. "These came out of the organization; they were not delivered as the goal," he said — as

they would have been in the past.

None of this is rocket science. In fact, much of what Mr. Martinez is trying to do at Sears is common sense. When one top manager sought board room approval for an initiative, a director shot back that the plan was "a blinding flash of the obvious." Indeed.

But that does not mean that this, or any, cultural transformation is easy. Success stories do not abound, and the skeptics are plentiful.

"I see no evidence that the efforts are working," said Philip Johnson, president of Leo J. Shapiro & Associates, a Chicago retailing consultant. Then again, he added, "I have not seen Mr. Martinez make a lot of mistakes either, especially in the financial area. There have been disappointments in his fashion upgrade, but his overall judgment has been good."

Even so, many management experts believe it takes 10 years to change a culture.

Mr. Martinez cannot afford to take 10 years; Sears would never be more than an also-ran if he did. "The retailing environment is always challenging, but the pace of change has stepped up," he said. "Ultimately, fewer, stronger competitors will emerge."

As Sears managers design their future, though, many are fumbling their new-found responsibilities. Consider the task forces. "For the first 30 days, they didn't know how to do it," said Mr. Rucci, who joined Sears from Baxter International two years ago. Then they started to suggest simple things, like cutting management layers, to bolster their competitive position.

Things started to change after each task force did a profit-and-loss statement for their business unit that took into account the cost of capital and allocated corporate overhead. "They were shocked," Mr. Rucci said. "Their intensity level went up significantly. They started to come up with unconventional ideas."

The fruits of their labor were complete during the first few days of January. One new division, Home Services, was created, based on the fact that Sears appliance installers and maintenance people already visit the homes of 17 million customers a year. Why not turn that into a growth business?

A new office of the president will run the mall stores, headed — actually — by three presidents with responsibility for the stores themselves; the apparel and home furnishing departments, and the appliances, tools, electronics and other "hard-line" departments.

The move is a half-solution. It consolidates management, but is really a face-saving device for three people who already had the presidential title. Ultimately, Sears executives predict, one will rise to the top.

The company's auto units, free-standing furniture and hardware stores and credit organization keep their current structures.

Most important, the restructuring cements the company's top 100 managers in their jobs. Duly designated, they have until mid-February to submit structures and personnel for their units. Mr. Martinez has told them to weed out poor performers and consider bringing in new blood.

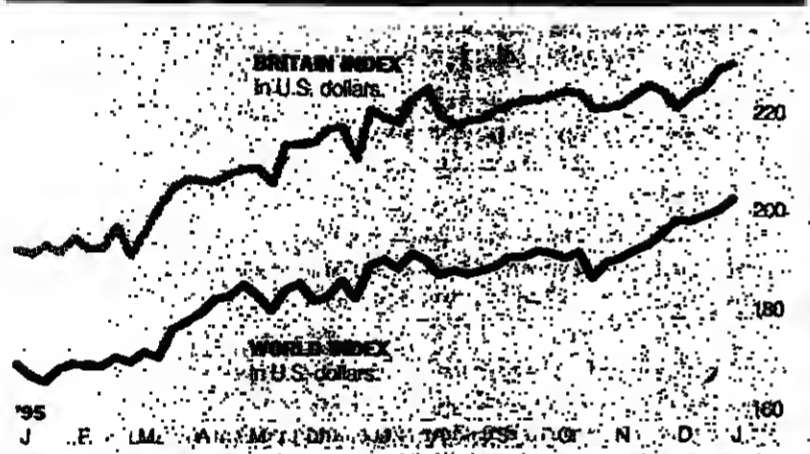
And now the job shifts will begin. A couple hundred staffers will be laid off. Between 150 and 200 people in areas like human resources, finance and marketing will be reassigned to the operating units. About 400 to 500 will remain as headquarters staff.

Another 2,100 to 2,200, in areas like information systems, will provide "shared services" to the operating units, which will be their clients — treated like customers. The people who used to call the tune are now relegated to support roles.

So the method in Ms. Recktenwald's circus madness now becomes clear. She had explained how headquarters' staff should "better support store associates." They could, for example, answer the phones quickly, since stores calling in usually had customers waiting with them for an answer. And they could pitch in and help if a store is particularly busy when they shop.

Eventually, even more people could be affected, because Sears managers may contract out for some services now done in-house.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Table with 10 columns: Country, Index, % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, % Chg., YTD. Lists performance for various countries including Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, and United States.

COMPOSITE INDICES

Table with 5 columns: Index, % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank. Lists performance for Europe, Pacific Basin, Europe/Pacific, and World.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's

CURRENCIES

Table with 5 columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago. Lists exchange rates for Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar, German marks to the U.S. dollar, Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar, and U.S. dollars to the British pound.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Jan. 1-5: Bond Prices Drop, but Stocks Continue to Gain

Table with 2 columns: Domestic Equities, Bond Buyer Index. Shows broad market up 0.13%, S&P 500 index up 1.26%, blue chips up 1.26%, Dow 30 industrials up 1.20%, small capitalization Russell 2000 index down 1.20%.

Table with 2 columns: Domestic Bonds, Corporate. Shows Treasuries down 0.35%, Ryan Labs Total Return down 0.36%, Municipals down 0.34%, Corporate down 0.34%, Merrill Lynch Master index down 0.34%.

Table with 2 columns: Around the World, Gold. Shows European stocks up 1.32%, Asian stocks up 2.40%, Gold up 2.16%, New York cash price up 2.16%.

Table with 2 columns: Yields, Bonds. Shows Long bonds 6.04%, 30-year Treasuries up 10 basis pts, Short bonds 5.15%, 2-year Treasuries up 3 basis pts, Municipals 5.51%, Bond Buyer index up 1 basis pt.

Table with 2 columns: Other Investments, Money market funds. Shows Money market funds 5.15%, Bank C.D.'s 4.93%, 1-year small savers down 3 basis pts, Stocks 2.30%, S&P 500 dividend yield unchanged.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream, Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

The New York Times

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No Way to Win a Primary

Memo to Bob Dole: America loves a winner, but it does not love a team that slices the tires on its competitors' buses so they cannot show up for the game.

Mr. Dole's New York supporters are gearing up for a tire-slicing foray against Steve Forbes and Patrick Buchanan, the only two Republicans who have dared to try to get their names next to Mr. Dole's on the state's Presidential primary ballot.

Last week, Mr. Buchanan submitted enough signatures to qualify for the ballot in about half of the Congressional districts, mainly upstate. Mr. Forbes spent about \$1 million to get the required number of signatures in each of the state's 31 districts. None of the other presidential candidates even attempted to overcome the roadblocks the state Republican Party has thrown up against unwanted interlopers. Party leaders rewarded Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Forbes for their herculean efforts by preparing to mount court challenges to keep them off the ballot.

These court fights are one of the most repugnant aspects of New York political life. Lawyers for Mr. Dole's cause will not have to prove that Mr. Forbes and Mr. Buchanan forged signatures or padded their lists with Democratic ringers. They need only demonstrate that signers came from the wrong side of a Congressional district line, for example, or that the people collecting the signatures were volunteers from a different district.

New York is the only state with such rules. The Democratic Party here has an open Presidential primary that requires only a reasonable 5,000 signa-

tures statewide to get on the ballot, far below the Republicans' requirement of 1,250 signatures in each district, or 5 percent of its registered voters. But Republican leaders, including Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Gov. George Pataki and the state party chairman, William Powers, have a peculiar idea of what makes for a good election. Their ideal is a sparse turnout of party loyalists trudging through the snow and muck to mark ballots with only one name. Their goal is a victory margin for Mr. Dole normally familiar only to political races in North Korea.

This simply will not do. Mr. Dole and his supporters should be spending their valuable time trying to improve the Senate majority leader's own standing, instead of plotting to remove his opposition. Sooner or later, even New York voters will have the option of voting for somebody else. Election law chicanery may work in March, but it will not do the job in November.

Disappointingly, just before Christmas a Federal appeals court reversed without explanation a lower-court ruling that would have eased the rules somewhat in districts with low Republican registration, where finding party members to sign petitions is hardest. The appeals panel owes the public a prompt written decision explaining its action.

In an ideal world, state Republican leaders would not need the courts to bring them to their senses. They should renounce any ballot challenges now, and promise to reform their rules for the future. Mr. Dole needs to call off his tire-slashers and let a fair election contest proceed.

NATO's Missing Partner in Bosnia

The NATO-led military force in Bosnia has met the early challenges of its peacekeeping mission reasonably well. But the parallel civilian oversight mission is starting so sluggishly that it risks leaving NATO forces exposed to nasty local encounters that could disrupt the successful and timely completion of their main military task. Washington and other troop-contributing nations must demand a more focused effort from Carl Bildt, the Swedish politician chosen to lead the civil operation.

Anyone who seriously believed that all the promises made by the Bosnian factions when they reached a peace agreement in Dayton would be put into effect smoothly now knows otherwise. In quick succession, Bosnian Serbs first tried to rewrite the timetable for transferring territory around Sarajevo to Government control, then abducted 16 Muslim civilians from a road that NATO peacekeepers had optimistically pronounced safe.

After initially wavering, NATO commanders firmly rebuffed the Bosnian Serb bid to rewrite the Dayton timetable. After accurately insisting that NATO had no formal responsibility to protect civilians, NATO commanders took the only responsible step to end the hostage crisis — they strongly demanded that the Serbs release their hostages, and the Serbs complied. These were important psychological tests and yesterday there were new reports of civilians detained. If the Serbs see they can push around the NATO force as easily as they pushed around the United Nations force that preceded it, the Dayton agreement will quickly crumble.

The main mission of the peacekeeping troops is to supervise the separation of Bosnia's rival armies and their redeployment to the new lines accepted at Dayton. Under the plans agreed to by troop-contributing nations, the peacekeeping forces are in deal only with armies and military matters. If the forces are to achieve their objective and get out on schedule, they will need to leave diplomacy to the diplomats and keep their involvement in civilian issues, like the taking of civilian hostages, to a minimum.

Overseeing the security of Bosnian civilians and their right to travel freely is the responsibility of the parallel civil mission and its international police force. But the head of that mission, Mr. Bildt,

has been shockingly slow in taking up his duties. Though he insists that his other job as leader of Sweden's parliamentary opposition will not distract him, he did not manage to arrive in Bosnia until late last week.

Despite the evident danger to Bosnian civilians, Mr. Bildt still seems in no rush to assemble the international police monitoring force that is supposed to oversee local law enforcement. He wants NATO's heavily armed forces to establish an atmosphere of compliance with the provisions of the Dayton agreement before his lightly armed and unarmed civilians go into operation.

That would make life easier for Mr. Bildt and those working under him but could undermine the whole mission in Bosnia. Civil police supervisors are certainly capable of monitoring the treatment of civilians and raising any infractions to diplomatic visibility so that the Western powers can bring pressure to bear. To leave the task much longer to military commanders would create unacceptable risks for the NATO force on which peace ultimately depends.

Indeed, NATO and Pentagon planners deliberately designed the Bosnian peacekeeping operation to avoid repeating the disastrous mistakes made by the international peacekeeping force in Somalia. There, a vague definition of the military role allowed objectives to slide carelessly from protecting famine relief workers to pacifying warlords to waging war against one warlord along with thousands of his followers.

If that pattern is repeated in Bosnia, NATO forces could become embroiled in scores of local showdowns over civil issues instead of assuring that the rival armed forces pull back from the old front lines and that the newly agreed boundaries come into effect. At the end of a year, when NATO forces are supposed to pull out, their basic objective might remain unmet and the whole idea of international peacekeeping might be further discredited.

There is no need to take such risks. The countries that have entrusted Mr. Bildt with the civilian mission must insist that he perform his job more energetically and consistently — or they should find someone else who will.

A Flawed Plan for Foster Children

Robert Ward, a Federal judge, has rightly blocked a Giuliani administration plan to change the way New York City finances the care of abused and neglected children. The plan, designed to save money and help children, might have done more harm than good.

The City's Child Welfare Administration relies heavily on nearly 70 private voluntary agencies to help abused and neglected children. These agencies have three basic strategies. They help troubled families so that children can stay at home without further risk. If that is not possible, they recruit and then monitor foster families, where children find a temporary home. When appropriate, they help children find a permanent home with adoptive parents.

There are 43,000 children in foster care, where they spend on average about four years. The cost has risen to \$650 million annually, including administrative expenses. One reason is the system of per diem payments. An agency is generally paid \$18 for each day a child remains in foster care. Officials argue that the fee structure acts as an incentive to keep children in foster care.

Budget cuts forced the city to rethink the fee structure. Gov. George Pataki reduced state child-welfare funding by about 25 percent, confronting Mayor Rudolph Giuliani with a \$20 million cut in his foster care budget. The City Council managed to

find \$8 million in new money. The city also hoped to find \$7 million in savings through a new system of managed care. It is that plan that is now in dispute.

The plan calls for agencies to receive lump-sum payments at the beginning of a fiscal period, giving them more flexibility plus an incentive to close cases faster, before the money runs out. The idea was tried successfully in a small-scale pilot project, but the agencies involved had more funds and more freedom than the city is now offering.

Judge Ward, along with child care advocates, worries that the agencies, confronted with limited and finite resources, will focus on easier cases that require only minimal follow-up and give short shrift to hard-to-place children. The plan was not intended to deal with basic problems at C.W.A., including inadequate training for caseworkers and sloppy oversight. Mr. Giuliani has promised to address these deficiencies separately.

Judge Ward has ordered another hearing this week to determine whether the plan should be delayed further. The city's basic idea — removing the financial incentive to keep children in foster care longer than necessary — is sound. But the timetable was too quick and the provisions for hard-to-place children were too vague. The city would be wise not to challenge the judge and take more time to eliminate defects from the plan.

America Seeks Stability Abroad, Not Empires

To the Editor:
Re Jacob Heilbrunn's and Michael Lind's analysis of post-cold-war United States foreign policy ("The Third American Empire," Op-Ed, Jan. 2).

The authors describe an American drive for empire as an end in itself, without adequately considering the motivations behind American foreign policy and whether those motivations may actually be antithetical to what most people would consider an "American Empire."

The real issue is the intent of United States policy in the Middle East and other regions. The heart of the authors' thesis is that the United

States has repeatedly established "suzerainty" over the former spheres of influence of a conquered foe. Yet the authors fail to explain why the United States would choose such a course, or if it is universally applied. Their analysis turns on perceiving American involvement in Bosnia as being related to some broader (though undefined) Middle East policy. However, this is an action that can be best understood not by looking toward the Middle East but into the middle of Europe.

Mr. Heilbrunn and Mr. Lind are correct in noting that Bosnia was once considered part of the "Near East," but today anyone can tell you

that it lies in the heart of Central Europe. Bosnia is a small country, but it is the focus of many fears, including those of a large refugee flows, the threat of a spreading European war and Russian military intervention, as well as genocide. American involvement in the Balkans has less to do with some historical tendency to extend hegemony for hegemony's sake than with a concern that if the United States does not act now, it may be forced to react later to a much worse situation.

This policy of maintaining regional stability to prevent a larger conflict is also evident — contrary to the authors' assertions — in America's East Asia policy by such acts as preventing nuclear proliferation in North Korea and fostering economic cooperation among states on the Pacific rim. The United States would not have the luxury of being simply an "outside arbiter" in a major Pacific dispute. A destabilized East Asia could wreak havoc on the American economy.

Mr. Heilbrunn and Mr. Lind treat the United States as some sort of predator that will use power where it can — simply because it can — and will ignore trouble spots where involvement would be problematic. This is neither an accurate description nor a satisfying prescription.

The United States' actions in Bosnia and East Asia show a recognition of situations that could have a far-reaching impact on the United States. Simply because one or the other will be difficult to resolve does not mean that we can ignore it. Rather, these examples force the American foreign policy establishment to realize that threats can come from a variety of angles at once, and that American foreign policy in the new world order may be less like the quest to kill some Soviet Moby Dick and more like navigating between the Scylla and Charybdis of regional conflicts. And such a world, more than ever, requires one to pay close attention to motivations as well as actions. CHRISTOPHER J. BORGES
New York, Jan. 3, 1996

Healthy Environment Aids the Economy

To the Editor:
The next time someone tells me we can't afford to protect the environment, I'm going to open my wallet and unfold your front-page article ("Federal Shutdown Hits Hard in Area Around Yellowstone," Dec. 30) on how the national park shutdown has hurt business.

Too many of us are still locked in that mindset that says the way to make money off a piece of land is to mine it, drill it or log it. That's certainly the prevailing view in Congress, though that may have more to do with who hankrolls campaigns.

In fact, nowadays trees in many parts of America are worth more when they're vertical than when they're horizontal and on their way to the mill. In the 20 counties near Yellowstone National Park, for example, 96 percent of new jobs over a recent 20-year period were created by businesses not part of the extractive industries or agriculture. In Oregon, forest-product executives had predicted that a reduction in national forest logging would devastate the state's economy. Yet companies hired in part by Oregon's natural qualities have helped drop unemployment to its lowest rate in a generation. In short, nature sells.



As Congressional efforts to give away the public's lands and reduce protection of water, air and wildlife turned into a donnybrook late last year, Speaker Newt Gingrich said that in January he would come up with a new approach on the environment. Let's hope this new approach reflects the reality that a healthy economy and a healthy environment go hand in hand. JON ROUSH
President, the Wilderness Society
Washington, Jan. 4, 1996

Investors Help Push The Downsizing Trend

To the Editor:

In the wake of ATR's record layoffs, Labor Secretary Robert Reich got it half right in calling for incentives to encourage corporate compassion for employees and communities ("How to Avoid These Layoffs," Op-Ed, Jan. 4). And Boh Herbert's Dec. 29 column correctly identified the growing economic peril in the surge of pink slips driven by cost-cutting corporate machismo: "Firing Their Customers."

But the pressure on corporate chieftains to outdo each other in ruthlessly pruning employees, wages and benefits — even, or especially, when enjoying record profits — is driven only partly by worldwide competition. Equally significant is the mania by investors that each successive fiscal quarter be financially better than the one before.

Increasingly, these investors are all of us; millions of Americans who have quadrupled the resources of mutual funds and giant employee pension funds. In fact, employee pension funds have taken the lead in demanding better bottom-line performance by managers of corporations in which they invest. And we as investors and future retirees certainly reap the dividends from better financial performance. But are we also reaping a whirlwind of castoff employees, declining consumer confidence and hollow communities as corporations spin off, re-engineer, downsize, merge and disappear?

Along with Secretary Reich's prescription for greater responsibility through incorporation and tax laws, we as individual investors ought to demand that our money managers reward good corporate citizenship, as well as good financial performance. ERIC PETER AXELSON
Brooklyn, Jan. 4, 1996

G.O.P. Budget Isn't Perfect, but It Works

To the Editor:

Re "The Big Lie" by Anthony Lewis (Column, Dec. 29): Mr. Lewis wrote that Baron Munchausen, the great fictional liar, would be envious of my statement during the weekly Republican radio address that this is "a historic struggle, and perhaps our last great chance to stop robbing our children." If Mr. Lewis believes this isn't truly a historic struggle to balance the budget, I suggest he hasn't been paying attention.

He speaks of our tax cut "costing the Treasury \$240 billion." I believe the reverse: that taxes we pay to the Treasury cost Americans money. Most conservatives believe that Americans deserve to keep more of their money and can spend their money more wisely than politicians, and that the Government exists to serve Americans, not vice versa. In 1992 Bill Clinton promised to present a five-year balanced budget; in his first State of the Union address, he promised to abide by Congressional Budget Office projections. Now he breaks both promises.

Is the Republican budget plan perfect? Of course not. But it does balance the budget, reform welfare, save Medicare for another decade and allow Americans to keep more of the money they earn. Mr. Clinton's alternative accomplishes none of these goals. (Rep.) RON LEWIS
Washington, Jan. 4, 1996

Wide Tax-Relief Benefit

To the Editor:
Anthony Lewis's recent column about the budget was simply wrong, particularly his discussion of the Congressional tax relief package.

The \$245 billion tax cut, 80 percent of which goes to people who make less than \$100,000, contains a bipartisan provision designed to stimulate

job creation through a slightly modified research and experimentation tax credit.

Mr. Lewis says this credit will go to "exactly three" computer companies. But data from the nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation say the modification to the credit will apply to at least 100 companies, if not more. BILL ARCHER
Chairman, House Committee on Ways and Means
Washington, Jan. 4, 1996

Politics and Principles

To the Editor:

It is unfortunate that you have chosen to write off the current budget impasse in Washington as "The Budget Scrum" (editorial, Jan. 4), declaring the entire affair to be some game of politics. The irresponsibility stands out when compared with comments just above it in "The Governor's Rhetorical Gloss," where the same editorial staff rebukes Governor Pataki's stance, our local version of that taken by "the freshmen militants" in Washington.

It is just possible that the current impasse may, when viewed by historians, mark a time when "longstanding Democratic principles" were defended against a radical, right-wing coup. "Democratic principles" are not mere slogans: they are the bastions against what were, scant paragraphs above, "the pain and problems that lie ahead" in your discussion of New York.

If President Clinton's tactics reflect a stalling tactic, so be it. It is no less valid now than in World War II, when an American commander responded to demands for surrender by saying "Nuts." The Times admired that stance then; why not now? STEPHEN E. PHILLIPS
Brooklyn, Jan. 4, 1996

'Communities of Color': Segregated Settings, but Good Schools

To the Editor:

It is not surprising that blacks and whites in "Neither Separate Nor Equal" (news article, Dec. 28, about Yonkers school integration) are disappointed in school performance of their children.

It is troubling to whites who must relocate when involuntary racial diversity visits their schools. And it is frustrating to blacks who must bus their children "across the tracks" to schools which are then abandoned by whites. There are at least two problems inherent in this conundrum: Too many blacks still find it difficult to believe that white schools are accepting of innocent black children; and district courts continue to mandate desegregation, not education.

Ever since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the burdensome responsibility of desegregation has been disproportionately placed on blacks. And blacks accepted this duty. Their

hopes were placed on interracial harmony and finding the common grounds of interests where at least black and white children could learn together in the same schoolhouse. Fat chance! This situation has not occurred in any appreciable manner for over 40 years. Yonkers's integration failure merely represents the blindness of the court in the school desegregation mess.

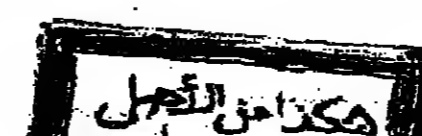
The solution lies in the true development of communities of color where social services, decent hous-

ing and real education are effectively delivered. For 14 years I served as principal of a black and brown segregated school (P.S. 111) in a poverty pocket in a predominantly white school district in the northeast section of the Bronx — an elementary school of about 1,200 children who resided in mostly female-headed households in federally subsidized low-income housing projects. Ninety percent of the children qualified for free school lunches, an indication of the poverty; yet over 92 percent of students in the entire school consistently performed on or above grade level on all citywide and nationally standardized tests in all basic skills areas.

This was, indeed, a traditional school without excess funds and without any "Mickey Mouse" programs. The school outperformed all of the 31 predominantly white schools in this school district; upon my leaving, its citywide rank was 28th out of 631 schools in New York City.

We know how to make schools work. Black and brown children are being educated effectively in schools of color. Truly, the answer lies in the quiet development of these communities, not in publicly sponsored desegregation or integration efforts where excess monies and anxieties are spent. WILLIAM D. WHEELER
Bronx, Jan. 3, 1996

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Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Time for Straight Talk

WASHINGTON Secretary of State Warren Christopher travels to Damascus this week in another bid to persuade President Hafez al-Assad of Syria to make a dramatic leap forward in peace talks with Israel. Wouldn't it be nice if Mr. Christopher said this:

"Hafez, it's good to see you again. Would you mind if we set our chairs facing each other for once. Talking to you for nine hours with our chairs side by side gives me a terrible pain in the neck."

"Hafez, this is my 15th visit to Damascus. That's a lot of visits. I've only been to China once, Moscow four times, Mexico once and Japan four times. But this will be my last. Because I have just one brief message for you: You are living in a world of illusions if you think that any Israeli government is going to give you the Golan Heights back without you making a sincere, personal and emotional overture to the Israeli people — without you making a psychological breakthrough. You keep refusing to do that. Instead, you get lost in nit-picking details or in sending smoke signals that only a Middle East expert could understand."

"Sometimes, Hafez, I ask myself: 'What planet are you living on?' Israelis have had Anwar Sadat address their Parliament in Jerusalem. They've had King Hussein eulogize their Prime Minister at Mount Herzl military cemetery. Do you really think they are impressed by news reports that your ambassador to America took off his tie when he met with Israeli negotiators in Washington last week? Let's see, King Hussein buried Yitzhak Rabin, Anwar Sadat buried Golda Meir and your ambassador took off his tie — but wouldn't allow photographers to take his picture! C'mon, get serious."

"Hafez, the Israelis control the Golan Heights. You want them back. The only way you can get Israel to give them to you is through a deal that is endorsed by a majority of Israelis. But there is no way that an Israeli majority is going to give up the strategic Golan Heights, to the country that has been its bitterest enemy, unless you engage Israelis directly and in a way that signals to your own people that you have irreversibly chosen the path of peace. Do not kid yourself. Israelis feel no moral, strategic or economic reason to leave the Golan Heights. The only thing that can induce them to do so is if you paint for them a vivid and appealing picture of what peaceful relations between Israel and Syria would be like — but that is precisely what you and your negotiators refuse to do."

"I know you have your own legitimate strategic concerns, and they must be addressed. But if you want the Golan back on terms you can live with, you have to make this psychological breakthrough with Israelis first, because the Golan is not just any territory for Israelis. It is the symbol of their geographic vulnerability. Your challenge is to make Israelis look up at those heights and feel they are no more threatening than the border between Norway and Sweden. Your challenge is to make Israelis look at those heights and say to themselves: 'What is important is not what I see before my eyes, which is Syria on the high ground and Israel in the valley, but rather what I feel coming from Damascus, which is a new sense of reconciliation, integration and acceptance.'"

"You keep looking to me to pressure Israel. But only you can do that. Only you, by creating a psychological breakthrough with Israel, can give birth to a real, popular, Israeli movement that will press the Israeli Government for a deal with Syria."

"So, I'll be on my way now, Hafez, and I won't be back. Because I realize that my frequent visits here have only been getting in the way. They have been protecting you from having to make a decision, while giving you international approval and regional influence. Without this peace process, Hafez, you would be as popular and as relevant as Fidel Castro. I've insulated you from that. In the meantime, I've paid only scant attention to Yasir Arafat and King Hussein, who made the really tough decisions for peace and are struggling to keep it alive, but with little help from me. I'm not going to let that happen any longer."

"In the old days Hafez, I would have given you my phone number and have given you to call when you were serious. But that wouldn't be appropriate. Because Hafez, you and the Israelis don't need a mediator. You need a chauffeur. It's an hour's drive from Damascus to the Israeli border, Hafez. Make that trip, and everything is possible. Don't make that trip, and nothing is possible."

(Wednesday: Mr. Assad's answer.)



Save Your Breath, Sisters

By Bell Hooks

Don't trust everything the press tells you about how black women think. Lots of us went to see "Waiting to Exhale" expecting to enjoy a film about four black women friends coping with life and relationships, yet could not relate to the shallow, adolescent nonsense we saw on the screen. We were not even entertained. I went with a group of friends, all of us professional women, single and married. Mostly, we were upset and disappointed. Not one of us saw a realistic portrayal of our lives.

I'm 43, single and searching for true love. What I saw was not women talking about love or the meaning of marriage. It was a collection of clichés.

Bell Hooks is the author of "Killing Rage: Ending Racism," a collection of essays.

riage or partnership, but women being obsessive about men, material success and petty competition with other women, especially white women. No doubt it helps crossover appeal to set up a stereotypically racist and sexist conflict between white women and black women competing to see who will win the man in the end. In the original novel, by Terry McMillan, competition of this sort does not have center stage.

Catfights between women, both real and imaginary, were apparently seen by the screenwriters as more entertaining than the portrayal of an ambitious black woman finding true and lasting love. The fact that one of these screenwriters was Terry McMillan makes this choice all the more disheartening. Did she forget that in the novel she had written a far more complex and progressive vision of female/male relationships?

In any case, while we may all know some women over 30 who are desper-

ate to get a man by any means necessary, this film is so simplistic and denigrating to black women that we should be outraged to be told that it is "for us." Or worse yet, that this is our Million Man March, as Newsweek maintained. Whether one supported

The trouble with 'Waiting to Exhale.'

the march or not (and I did not), let's get this straight: we are being told and we are telling ourselves that black men need political action and black women need a movie.

And not a political movie, furthermore, but one in which the gorgeous

actresses spend most of their time chain-smoking themselves to death and drowning their sorrows in alcohol. (In a typical scene, one girlfriend can't muster enough breath to blow out birthday candles.) Nothing has been more depressing than to hear some black women saying that this film is a "realistic portrayal" of their experience. If that's the world of black heterosexual relationships as they know it, no wonder black men and women are in a serious crisis.

Obviously, it is difficult for many black women to find black male partners or husbands, though it is hard to believe that women as conventionally feminine, beautiful and just plain dumb as the girlfriends in this film can't get men. (One character, for example, has an M.B.A. but seems to know nothing about money; another is willing to have unsafe sex and celebrate an unplanned pregnancy.) In the real world, women like these have men standing in line.

Apparently, lots of black women, especially younger women, go to "Waiting to Exhale" to have their worst fears confirmed: that black men are irresponsible and uncaring, and that black women, no matter how attractive, are likely to be alone and unloved. Should we really feel better having the message of self-loathing and low self-esteem brought to us by four beautiful black "stars"?

Very few black women talking about this film acknowledge the one character who reminds us what real sisterhood is all about: the graceful, attractive lawyer hired by Bernie (Angela Bassett) to represent her against a coniving husband. She is a professional who knows her job and is able to bond emotionally with her client. Not only does she take a stand for justice (the one glimpse of feminism we see in the film), she achieves that end without putting men down or competing with other women and shows fulfillment in a job well done. Let's hope it's this image of black women Hollywood gives us more of.

Liberties MAUREEN DOWD

All About Hillary

WASHINGTON This was supposed to be earth-mother week.

The First Lady is going on tour with her book, "It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us." "For more than twenty-five years, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has made children her passion and her cause," says a Simon & Schuster press release.

Mrs. Clinton is accustomed to stepping behind an apple-pie-and-motherhood scrim. During the '92 campaign, Clinton strategists wrote a secret memo, including advice about how to make Mrs. Clinton seem more affectionate and maternal. It suggested staging an event where "Bill and Chelsea surprise Hillary on Mother's Day" and advised her to talk more about family.

Since the health-care debacle, she has taken to the hearth with a vengeance. She appeared on Martha Stew-

A tale of two images.

art's Christmas special, chatting about wreaths. She wrote her newspaper column about New Year's resolutions. ("I will try to keep the same hairdo for at least 30 days. ... I will try to show more enthusiasm for my husband's golf game.")

On the President's recent trip to London, the First Lady's anodyne demeanor caused one journalist to mourn that she had become "the First Stepford Wife."

Mrs. Clinton uses rituals of domesticity to make her desire for "systemic" changes seem less threatening.

Her latest fluffier-mutter make-over was to be capped by the book tour. But the timing turns out to be extremely awkward, as revelations about the travel office fiasco and the mysteriously disappearing and appearing Whitewater files have once more cast doubt on Mrs. Clinton's probity and put her at the center of what she dismisses to Newsweek as "all the spider webs that are spun."

The confidential memo written by David Watkins about the travel office gives the maternal image: a Joan Crawford twist, portraying the First Lady as a scary "Mommie Dearest."

Mr. Watkins said he realized there was a more humane way to handle the situation than firing seven people, sacking the F.B.I. on them, leaking it to the press and pretty much ruining their lives.

He starkly contradicts the story of Mrs. Clinton, who had Administration lawyer Neil Eggleston tell the General Accounting Office last year that "Mrs. Clinton did not direct that any action be taken by anyone with regard to the Travel Office. Mrs. Clinton does not know the origin of the decision to remove the White House Travel office employees."

Now comes the Watkins "soul-cleansing," as he calls his memo. "Once this made it onto the First Lady's agenda, Vince Foster became involved, and he and Harry Thomas regularly informed me of her attention to the Travel Office situation — as well as her insistence that the situation be resolved immediately by replacing the Travel Office staff. ... We both knew there would be hell to pay if ... we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the First Lady's wishes."

An associate of the First Lady through all this confirms Mr. Watkins' portrait: "She's a good screamer. She can cut someone to ribbons and make them feel like an idiot. It was a lot easier to do what she wanted."

And there's more: 116 pages of copies of documents from the Rose Law Firm — which have been searched for and subpoenaed for two years — have suddenly turned up in the White House residence, showing that Mrs. Clinton had billed for a wide range of legal services on behalf of Madison Guaranty.

At her Whitewater press conference in 1994, Mrs. Clinton wore pink and professed ignorance about the Madison account: "It was not an area that I practiced in, it was not an area that I really know anything, to speak of, about."

Mr. Watkins said that he had been trying to be as "vague and protective as possible" with investigators. But apparently he wrote his scalding memo after he grew tired of taking the fall for the First Lady.

Mrs. Clinton is at the center of a web of fall-takers. People say what she wants them to say, and are rewarded with monstrous legal bills. And the more candid associates keep contradicting her. In the coming weeks, she will need Houdini-like skills to dodge the collision of her images. She will be spreading sunshine in bookstores while in hearing rooms her former colleagues speak under oath about her legal activities.

Earth Mother meet Mommie Dearest.

Jobs Die So Companies May Live

By James Champy

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. It may be cold comfort to the 40,000 managers of AT&T who will be laid off or take buyouts this year, but I'd rather be in their shoes than in those of similar managers in France.

The French Government hacked down last month from restructuring that would have made the vast state-owned companies more efficient at the cost of layoffs. But this simply assures these companies' further decline and an inevitable increase in the already high French unemployment rate.

At least in the United States, laid-off middle managers have a better chance of finding a new job. This prospect in no way reduces the pain and hardship of those AT&T employees who must now seek new careers. But it does mean that they will be

James Champy, the author of "Re-engineering Management" and co-author, with Michael Hammer, of "Re-engineering the Corporation," is chairman of CSC, Inc., a consulting firm.

moving more quickly to new jobs and opportunities, rather than denying an inescapable economic fact.

As the experience of France will eventually show, regulation cannot prevent industrial change, just as AT&T's paternalistic culture could not stave off the loss of middle-management jobs that were once considered among the economy's safest.

In large organizations, middle managers serve the purpose of relaying information up and down — orders down, numbers up. But with the new information technologies and more efficient forms of work, their purpose dwindles. Industries have incentive to shed "information relayers," and make those who remain do more "value-added work," that is, something customers will actually pay for. Does this sound heartless? Yes. Is it avoidable? Probably not.

Insurance and media companies and banks have already come to the same conclusions about management layers as AT&T has. Consolidations will continue to eliminate jobs in these industries. The next wave of consolidations is likely to come in the utility industry after deregulation. It is estimated that of the 200 electric utilities,

there will be fewer than 20 in 10 years. It is argued that all these job losses will hurt the entire economy. But when markets demand that companies restructure, action cannot be delayed. And it is customers, after all, not the companies themselves, who are defining markets and industries.

To prevent or discourage companies from undertaking layoffs would be to ask them to be noncompetitive and potentially go out of business. It could mean not just fewer jobs but no jobs. Meanwhile, the popular argument that good management can avert layoffs fails to acknowledge that even growing companies no longer require huge work forces.

Robert Allen, the chairman of AT&T, did not act to cut costs or to wow Wall Street. Nor was his action a simple downsizing that would increase the burden on the remaining people. It reflects changes that position the company for growth in current and new markets. When downsizings are humanely carried out, with the intent of assuring a company's competitiveness, new jobs and a better future are eventually possible.

Companies may try to avoid layoffs as long as possible. But this merely

delays the inevitable. In the late 1980's, John Akers of I.B.M. tried that strategy. But the company struggled and ended up announcing numerous small layoffs. The percentages of job cuts may end up being about the same for both I.B.M. and AT&T. The slower course of change at I.B.M., however, may have cost it and its people more

AT&T could not protect its workers if it wanted to.

in the long term.

I.B.M. eventually pulled through. Today, the vast majority of I.B.M. employees who left are at other businesses or are self-employed. For them, life is not as secure as it was in the United States a decade ago — or as it supposedly is now in France — but they are making their way. And one other thing is worth noting: I.B.M. has begun rehiring.

Exiles in the Promised Land

By Elizabeth Gilbert

I grew up in the 1970's. Here's a quick recap: oil was expensive, American citizens were hostages, Detroit was a ghost town. My first political memory was something about President Gerald Ford forgiving Richard Nixon. I was late for gymnastics class because my mother had to wait in a gas line.

I was raised in a society that believed I had just missed out on something pretty good. No fault of mine, but the 1950's had really been much better. When I refer to the 1950's, I mean the catchall term that came to define the period from the end of World War II to the escalation of the war in Vietnam. When my parents were young, America was unchallenged, cars looked great, a wife could raise her children safely, a husband could buy a home on a laborer's wage.

All of that was diminishing as I was growing up. It's sad luck to be born at

Elizabeth Gilbert is a staff writer for Spin magazine.

the end of your society's greatest glories. I grew up knowing that I would never have what my parents had — idealism, security, faith, prosperity. I was cheated. I missed it.

But my grandparents missed it, too. My maternal grandparents were married in 1933, in rural Minnesota. They were farmers, the children of immigrants. They went on a weekend-long honeymoon to Minneapolis, and when they got back home a drought hit from which they never recovered. There wasn't enough money, and it was terrifying when anyone got sick. My grandmother had seven children. My grandfather took a job on a construction crew, leaving the dairy farm in the hands of his wife and my adolescent mother. My husband's family were coal miners in western Maryland. That's all you need to know about them in order to understand what stake they had in America's famous affluence.

These are not exceptional stories. This is how people lived for a long time before the abundant 1950's, which was a privileged moment and a brief one. The tremendous prosperity of this nation was a freak of history. It depended upon an alignment of favor-

able stars that cannot be repeated. We were the sole victors of a war that destroyed the economies of every other industrial nation. We were exploiting all natural resources as if those resources were endless. Racial and

America in the 1950's — gone and best forgotten.

sexual confines insured that we all knew our place, a peculiar comfort that we no longer accept.

It's fine to believe that the 1950's were an easier time for many. I have no reason to doubt that. But why should we inherit the expectations of that period? My grandparents and my husband's grandparents had no contract with America except the contract of all immigrants — the right to hope that things will be better for your children. At 83, my grand-

mother still closes every letter by writing, "I can't complain." She means it.

On the other hand, I have a young Republican acquaintance who makes almost \$100,000 a year on Wall Street and feels victimized because his life does not have the pleasant order that his father's youth had during the Eisenhower Administration. He is convinced that something has been stripped from him.

This distorted nostalgia is creating a country of citizens who feel like refugees in their own land. Our regretful fury makes us capable of anything: reflexive xenophobia and cynicism, even the desire to dismantle a perfectly good system of government.

Such nostalgia ultimately makes us vulnerable to any politician who promises a return to the golden age, and that golden age looks better and better every year. Trust me, nobody remembers it more fondly than the people who missed it entirely. Believing we have been exiled from our entitlements, we will crucify any leader who doesn't bring us back home. Such a society can only embrace a demagogue. Be careful what you wish for this year.

FILM

The French Love Triangle Gets a Little Tweaking

By ALAN RIDING

JOSIANE BALASKO enjoys being subversive. In a long career on stage and in movies, she has repeatedly set out to entertain, to make people laugh, to pull the crowds. And to the guardians of French intellectual purity, this is tantamount to subversion.

"Success is frowned upon here," she said with a mixture of scorn and disbelief. "If you have a hit, you're meant to apologize. And if it's a comedy, even worse."

Which no doubt explains why the stockily built comedienne seems so pleased with herself. At the age of 45, she has just scored her most subversive coup to date with "French Twist," the fourth movie she has written, directed and acted in. Released as "Gazon Maudit," it has been a huge hit in France (selling four million tickets), has been chosen as France's candidate for the Oscar for the best foreign-language film, and it is a comedy. "French Twist" opens in New York on Friday.

In this case, though, Ms. Balasko has added an extra twist of subversion. She has taken the old French standby of the eternal triangle involving one man and two women and turned it into a lesbian love story. In a land where "feminism" is still a dirty word, she has used humor, sentimentality and a sprinkling of gay sex to show how an emotionally starved housewife might prefer another woman to her macho, womanizing husband.

In the film, which captures the bucolic mood of its Provençal setting, Ms. Balasko plays Marijo, a stocky cigar-puffing lesbian with a short haircut who seeks help at a nearby house when her dilapidated van breaks down. Inside, Loli, a pretty young mother of two played by Victoria Abril, is preparing dinner for her real estate agent husband, Laurent, played by Alain Chabat. But as always, it seems, Laurent has a date ("work"), so instead Marijo stays for dinner and things begin to happen.

Marijo is the seductress, but Loli, a former dancer from Spain, soon rediscovers warmth and affection long absent from her marriage and, surprised, she responds. She doesn't want to leave her husband or indeed to throw him out, but she also doesn't

want to lose Marijo. In fact, thanks to Marijo, she gains the strength to stand up to her husband. And Laurent, who at first pours abuse on Marijo for being gay, soon realizes that he must now compete for Loli.

Ms. Balasko said she was drawn by the subject because, while male homosexuality is often portrayed in movies, "lesbianism for the most part has remained under a spell of silence." Rather than simply showing the physical passion between Marijo and Loli, she suggests the intimacy between them, as when they bathe and (literally) sleep together.

"I also wanted to avoid voyeurism," she explained over coffee in her home in the working-class Belleville district of Paris. "Under the pretext of showing a lesbian relationship, I didn't want to have two girls rolling around in bed. You can see that in any porno film."

As a happily married mother of a 13-year-old daughter and a 6-year-old adopted son, she laughed at the suggestion that she was somehow advocating lesbianism. "It is not a gay film for a particular audience," she said. "It isn't even an anti-male film. I like men too much to show them in a totally negative light. True, Laurent is a bit like a lot of men who refuse to grow up. But in the end, I show him as an adolescent turning into an adult."

In his first major movie role, then, Mr. Chabat, part of a well-known television comedy act called Les Nuls, goes from serial philanderer to indignant cuckold and, finally, to meek partner.

In contrast, Ms. Abril, who has starred in three recent movies by her Spanish compatriot, Pedro Almodóvar, comes over as a highly strung "Stradivarius" (Ms. Balasko's word) of sensuality, wonderfully Latin in both her passion and fury. "I wrote the part for Victoria," the director said, adding that she and Ms. Abril are such good friends that they vacation together each summer with their families. Ms. Balasko added, "She had absolutely no inhibition about playing someone who falls in love with another woman."

Ms. Balasko herself had never before played a lesbian. "I have some friends like Marijo, but it took me a while to get inside the character," she said. "I liked playing a woman who is equal to a man, someone with the same power of seduction, some-



Josiane Balasko played Gérard Depardieu's mistress in Bertrand Blier's 1989 film "Too Beautiful for You"—Another kind of love triangle.

one who is not vulnerable to being seduced by a man and is therefore totally free."

She paused to light a cigarette. "Anyway, I noticed that men get all the best roles in movies, so," she added with a laugh, "I gave myself the role of a man."

Playing character roles is nothing new for Ms. Balasko. She is probably best remembered in the United States for her role as the frumpy mistress in Bertrand Blier's 1989 film "Too Beautiful for You" ("Trop Belle Pour Toi"), another love-triangle movie, in which Gérard Depardieu plays her to his stunning wife, played by Carole Bouquet. "Miss Balasko is superb as the pliant but utterly direct Colette," Vincent Canby of The New York Times said of the film. In France, though, she has long been a household name.

Born of a Croatian immigrant father (she shortened her surname from Balaskovic) and a French mother, she attended drama school in Paris. Rather than opting for a career in television soap operas or mainstream theater, she became a founding member of a café-théâtre comedy team called Le Splendid, along with Michel Blanc, Thierry

Lhermitte, Dominique Lavanant and Gérard Jugnot. Beginning in 1975, they wrote and performed their own sketches and plays in "off-off" theaters, cafes and warehouses, gradually building up something of an underground following.

By 1980, they had been recruited into movies, starting with Patrice Leconte's "Bronzés" ("The Sun-Tanned"), a spoof of the Club Méditerranée. They were later in several films directed by Jean-Marie Poiré, among them a wacky Christmas tale called "Le Père Noël Est une Ordure," which became a cult movie and is still widely viewed on video. (It was also the inspiration for Nora Ephron's dreadful comedy last year, "Mixed Nuts.")

"I have always believed in Josiane," Mr. Poiré said. "She's very irreverent. I think she likes challenges, including the challenge of being a comedienne, which is not easy. She has an amusing aggressiveness. She's sort of funnily feminist without being militant. 'French Twist' is her best film to date. It's both a traditional situation comedy and provocative."

In the mid-1980's, the Splendid players went their own ways. Ms.

Balasko, who continued to appear in movies and on stage, also began writing screenplays and, in 1985, directed her first film, a black comedy about three misfits called "Sac de Nœuds" ("Can of Worms"), in which she stars with Isabelle Huppert and Farid Chopel.

"I didn't want to direct," she said. "I wanted to write and to act, to act what I had written. But it wasn't easy to find a director. In France, directors like to write their own movies and pick their stars. So that's how I finished up directing my first two films. I couldn't find a director. After that, I decided, well, I am a director."

In 1987, she made her second film, "Les Keufs" ("The Cops"), in which she plays a police inspector investigating a prostitution ring. That was followed, in 1991, by "Ma Vie Est un Enfer" ("My Life Is Hell"), a comedy fantasy in which she makes a Faustian bargain with the Devil. But while these films did respectably at the box office, they in no way anticipated the success of "French Twist." The only film that did better in France last year was Mr. Poiré's "Guardian Angels," another comedy.

Yet, Ms. Balasko noted, France's movie elites continue to look down on comedy. "How many of these young directors leaving film school want to make comedies?" she asked. "It's not the royal avenue. They prefer to have their first film seen by 300 people in Paris because they think they'll be noticed. They want to make art, but we're artisans. For me, art is painting, music, sculpture. There are very very few great directors like Fellini, Bergman and Kurosawa, who are true artists."

For her part, Ms. Balasko seems happy to be an entertainer. And a busy one at that. She is currently appearing in "A Loud Cry for Love," a play that she wrote last summer. (She also directed.) She is writing a screenplay with the director Claude Zidi. She is beginning to think about her next movie. And, as always, she is looking for a humorous role that suits her matronly physique.

"A journalist once said I was the housewife's revenge," she noted. "But it's not just that. I come over as the ordinary housewife who wins out in the end."
Yes, even as Marijo.

Volcanoes in Hollywood

By JOSH YOUNG

It was decades ago that David O. Selznick told a screenwriter, "Write whatever you want, as long as there's a love scene and the girl jumps in the volcano at the end." Over the years, audiences have been given movies like "The Last Days of Pompeii" (about the eruption of Vesuvius), "The Devil at 4 O'Clock" (in which leper children are endangered by a volcano) and "Joe Versus the Volcano" (in which Meg Ryan comes very close to fulfilling Selznick's dictum).

But even the Selznick rule could not explain why four volcano scripts are in various stages of development at major studios. The one farthest along is "Dante's Peak," a movie being produced by Universal Pictures about a volcano that threatens a small town near Seattle. Touchstone Pictures, at the Walt Disney Studio, is proceeding with "Ring of Fire," a futuristic thriller in which most of the action is set inside a volcanic ring. Fox 2000, a division of 20th Century Fox, has bought a script called "Volcano," an Irwin Allen-style disaster story about a volcano erupting in Los Angeles.

And the producers Kathleen Kennedy and Frank Marshall, at Paramount, hired a screenwriter to prepare a script called "Caldera," which centers on a volcanic explosion. The Kennedy-Marshall production company moves to Disney this month, though "Caldera" may stay behind at Paramount.

Needless to say, not all these scripts will become movies. Last year, a production of "Crisis in the Hot Zone" fell apart after another studio began filming a similar movie, called "Outbreak." In years past, there have been dueling Three Musketeers and Robin Hood scripts, with only one film making it into theaters.

Still, how did four screenplays about volcanoes — a phenomenon millions of years older than the motion picture industry — simultaneously become hot projects?

One answer is that audiences like high-quality special effects, and the new digital production companies make it possible to shoot volcano movies without fricasseeing actors and cameras. ("Joe Versus the Volcano" was made with the help of Industrial Light and Magic. George Lucas's special-effects company.)

Another answer is that all of Hollywood took notice when a Paramount cameraman crashed into Kilauea Volcano crater in Hawaii in 1992 while working on the movie "Silver." (At one point the script called for Sharon Stone, playing a New York book editor, to meet her



Frank Sinatra leads children from a volcano in the 1961 film "The Devil at 4 O'Clock."

end, improbably, in a volcano in Hawaii.)

But most important, in Hollywood, if one studio considers making a volcano movie, every studio suddenly wants one.

"It is similar thinking to why everyone wants to remake films," explained Nick Reed, an agent at International Creative Management. "If something has been done before, it is perceived as being more valuable. So if someone else has bought a volcano project, then they are perceived as being more valuable. Each studio thinks theirs is better."

Jerome Armstrong, the screenwriter on "Volcano," has always understood Hollywood's herd mentality. Unfortunately, until now, he has been just slightly behind the curve. Within days of finishing a script for a family comedy narrated by a baby, Mr. Armstrong learned that "Look Who's Talking," based on the identical premise, was going into production; when he had nearly completed a script about dinosaurs in Africa, Michael Crichton's novel "Jurassic Park" arrived in bookstores.

"I'm always right on the pulse of Hollywood in a commercial sense," said Mr. Armstrong, who has yet to have a screenplay produced. He knew about the Mount Pinatubo eruption in the Philippines in 1991, and, loving apocalyptic disaster stories, thought about what might threaten cities besides earthquakes

and floods. "I had this fantasy that nobody else was onto this volcano thing," he said.

He was wrong. Days before Mr. Armstrong and the producer Neal Moritz were to take "Volcano" to the studios, Universal announced that it had signed Roger Donaldson, director of "Species," to make "Dante's Peak." In this film, a volcanologist working in the Cascade Mountains in Washington falls in love with a woman just as a volcano is about to erupt; her 14-year-old daughter is endangered and must be rescued. In "Volcano," by contrast, a man working in the office of emergency operations and his 14-year-old daughter have just moved to Los Angeles; the man must rescue his daughter when the volcano erupts.

The similarities might have stopped the "Volcano" team. But the producer, Mr. Moritz, worked fast. He called Jon Klane, who runs a literary agency. Mr. Klane picked up a copy of "Volcano," read it that night, met with Mr. Armstrong in the morning and sent the script to potential buyers that afternoon.

Mr. Klane received several inquiries, including one from Universal (which was, after all, making "Dante's Peak"). Fox 2000, however, made a preemptive bid (\$300,000), and now has a script doctor rewriting Mr. Armstrong's script.

Paradoxically, Leslie Bohem, the screenwriter on "Dante's Peak," also thought he had been upstaged by a volcano movie. "I was on page 95 the day Disney announced their volcano movie in the trades," he said. "This stuff gets in the air like volcanic ash."

Disney's "Ring of Fire" tells the story of a bounty hunter in Las Vegas in the year 2038; in this film a 10-year-old boy is in danger. Despite the fact that Disney had already announced it had Tony Scott, whose credits include "Crimson Tide," Universal paid Mr. Bohem \$1 million for "Dante's Peak." He has just finished rewriting the script.

During all this well-publicized maneuvering, Ms. Kennedy and Mr. Marshall, who were executive producers on "Joe Versus the Volcano," were dreaming up "Caldera." The idea came while Mr. Marshall was working near volcanoes during the filming of "Congo," which they also produced.

They say they will have the first draft of a script in a few months. The team may not know what to expect, but the odds are that the story will involve a volcano suddenly erupting near a big city and endangering either a 10-year-old boy or a 14-year-old girl. Jumping into the volcano at the end remains a possibility.

NIGHT LIGHTS

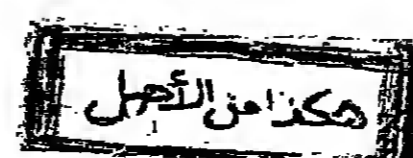
By ERIC ALBERT / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Lord Byron poem
- 5 Loopy
- 9 "Uncle —" (Paul McCartney hit)
- 15 Boom causers
- 19 "Absolutely!"
- 20 Mighty mite
- 21 1976 De Palma shocker
- 22 Tennisstroke
- 23 Flan
- 24 Royal pastime
- 25 Reservations
- 26 Recherché
- 27 Kind of planning
- 29 Legislators
- 31 Phoenix suburb
- 32 Kind of question
- 33 Plane's right
- 34 Paged
- 35 Kenneth Grahame character
- 38 "I cannot tell —"
- 39 Figures out at the beginning?
- 41 Abounding
- 44 Sliver
- 46 Second servings
- 48 Flynn portrayal
- 49 Record producer Brian
- 50 Program since 1965
- 52 — may look on a king
- 53 Summer of 1980 question
- 56 Madrid museum
- 57 "Yeah, sure"
- 61 To some degree
- 62 Magazine contents
- 65 Procrastinator
- 67 War story
- 68 It's depicted by parts of today's puzzle
- 69 Polynesian tongue
- 72 "Locksley Hall" poet
- 74 Hope and Crosby, often
- 75 Mickey's partner
- 76 Beat (out)
- 77 — lamps
- 79 Lampons
- 82 Slack-jawed
- 83 Most likely
- 85 — deus in nobis (there is God within us)
- 86 Remove
- 90 Part of a 1995 reunion
- 92 The — of the land
- 93 Ancient goddess of fertility
- 94 Today's soldier, e.g.
- 96 Bass —
- 98 Tom Clancy hero Jack
- 100 Noisy gulps
- 101 Plesiosaurlike reptile, familiarly
- 103 "The Taming of the Shrew" setting
- 107 Author Ken
- 108 Salespeople push it
- 110 Wondrous
- 111 Bye
- 112 Thus
- 113 Magwitch of "Great Expectations"
- 115 1979 disco hit
- 116 Kind of rack
- 117 Shop's replacement
- 118 Mooring site
- 119 Bed piece
- 120 Forward
- 121 Early English poet laureate
- 122 Major hit
- 123 Bang out, in a way
- DOWN**
- 1 Half a 1980's TV duo
- 2 Get a smile out of
- 3 Race do-overs
- 4 How to play "Loch Lomond"
- 5 Breach
- 6 From — Z
- 7 Classroom reward
- 8 Slidesight
- 9 Familiarize
- 10 Artist Toulouse—
- 11 Form a queue
- 12 Perry's creator
- 13 Net supports
- 14 Parisian possessive
- 15 Brake sound
- 16 Movie for which Lee Gram won an Oscar
- 17 Sink
- 18 Went 80, say
- 28 More than enough
- 30 Traveler's guide
- 31 Leaves in the pot
- 34 Words in an anthology title
- 38 More than disdain
- 39 Japanese assembly
- 39 Tiling building?
- 40 Gentle — (Miss Manners salutation)
- 41 Newspaper's — desk
- 42 Had an inspiration
- 43 Foundation
- 45 Atlantic City resort, with "the"
- 47 Item in a lock
- 51 Downer
- 54 Classic film set in Wyoming
- 56 Delilah in "Samson and Delilah"
- 58 George Michael, for one
- 57 Mideasterner
- 58 Military decoration
- 59 Most like a ghost
- 60 Europe's Gulf of
- 63 Year in Louis XIV's reign
- 64 "O Sole —"
- 68 Foreign title
- 68 Get down, so to speak
- 69 Chant
- 70 "Over here!"
- 73 Brainpower
- 75 Fictional Walter
- 78 Baker's need
- 80 W.W. I grp.
- 81 Peter, once
- 83 George Cukor classic
- 84 Unversed?
- 86 Windows work area
- 87 Officially not working
- 88 Psych out
- 88 Southern stinger
- 91 Quarterback
- 93 Financial page figure
- 95 Kind of satellite
- 97 Perfume dispensers?
- 99 Classified ad abbr.
- 101 Very much
- 102 Pasta shape
- 104 Not very intelligently
- 105 Open, in a way
- 106 Talismanic stone
- 108 French Christian
- 109 Green light
- 110 Ingénue, perhaps
- 112 Honorary law deg.
- 114 "Uncle Tom's Cabin" girl

ANSWER 70 PREVIOUS PUZZLE

GASHASK BROTHER POTPOULL
 ANTHRAL LARALINE ARIALONE
 SHANTINE OCAHADA PATRICE
 TOWHAWKSWINGSREPEATOSCAR
 ONE BOBS RYE
 HESSIE RYAN VARGONIRAL
 GORE RAN GIBBER ALONE
 HAITIHOOS FRESBITIONS
 OOO NOXIOOS TOS PLEASIES
 HAIVE VAMP DRY ACIO
 EGOSIT SERPI UPON PESO
 SIFPSONVEROICTNOGUILTY
 TOSS HEIR RNSUE SNEERS
 GORE RAN GIBBER ALONE
 STYRIBO PAF GIBBER ALONE
 THEOKHAROACTIVORISASTER
 GRATE ELINDO INARI
 DUSTYHAIIS YEARN PENPAL
 APP NETS ARE
 CALRIPKREKREKREKREKREKREK
 ADOHAI ALORAVY BOLORAI
 SEATTLE SHHADO FALSANO
 RIANROWS RWAHRAIN ITABER



From linotype to CD-Rom, 50 years of memories

Alexander Zvielli, who came to Jerusalem shortly before the War of Independence, reflects on his career at the 'Post'

FIFTY years ago last month I began working for The Jerusalem Press, which printed *The Palestine Post*, the predecessor of *The Jerusalem Post*. The Palestine Post Company bought this press three years later.

I still remember that sunny morning when I was issued standard dark-blue civilian clothing at the British Army Discharging Center at Tzrifin.

By leaving the British army, I said good-bye to the long years of exile, to the life of a refugee, to the dreary years of service for others. This was my first day of real freedom. From now on, I reflected, I will have to make my own decisions, and the first was to start a new life in Eretz Yisrael.

After three years as a first-class vehicle mechanic I could easily find work in a garage or as a driver. But I preferred the smell of printing ink to that of exhaust, so my second decision was to follow in my father's footsteps.

There were advantages to becoming a printer. At my father's press, I met many fascinating personalities: Ze'ev Jabotinsky, whose novel *Samson the Nazirite* was printed in Hebrew, Polish and Yiddish; Moshe Kleibbaum (Soeh); Yitzhak Grynsbaum; Meoachem Begin; and many other Zionists whom I remember for their endless heated discussions on how to dismember the oppressive British Empire. And, finally, there was the quiet Isaac Bashevis Singer, the unassuming proofreader of *Literarische Blätter* ("Literary Pages").

And so I went straight to Tel Aviv to meet with the all-powerful secretary of the Histadrut's Printers' Union. He sent me to Jerusalem, with a letter to hand to the head of the Jerusalem

Press's workers' committee, and advised me to take a room in the Himmelfarb Hotel (today the Gefen), next to the Post.

I was welcomed with open arms. The Jerusalem Press's latest project was a Polish daily, and it urgently needed a linotypist who knew Polish. I was asked to start working immediately.

Within a few months, I switched to typesetting *The Post*. After many years of absence from the printing press, I enjoyed listening to the monotonous noise of linotypes saying their daily prayers.

WORLD WAR II had just ended, but our struggle for free immigration and independence had only begun. The revolt was brewing and the *Post* became a fighting newspaper. The entire staff shared the tremendous editorial effort of making our voice heard from Jerusalem.

At a time when Jews were rotting in displaced persons camps in Europe, illegal immigrant ships were trying to break the British blockade, the IZL and Hagana were sabotaging British installations, the daily appearance of even a frequently censored Jewish newspaper was a national accomplishment.

Ted Lurie, who later became the executive editor, was attacked by a few drunken British soldiers outside the Press windows and we came to his rescue. This did not prevent the *Post's* founder and executive editor, Gershon Agron, from walking home long after midnight. He continued to do so under bombardment during the War of Independence.

The press was usually crowded with foreign journalists, fishing for the latest news. Important



Alexander Zvielli at work at 'The Jerusalem Post' morgue in 1982. (Aliza Auerbach)

personalities used to drop in to get the first edition at midnight. I was working as usual on February 1, 1948, when a bomb planted by Arabs with the help of the British police - ripped through the building and almost completely destroyed the press. Luckily, I was sitting in the right place and wasn't injured.

Many of my colleagues, however, were less fortunate. The heavy blast killed, blinded and wounded, while the fire and the smoke which followed added to the destruction.

But the *Post* appeared the next day, as if nothing had happened. On the front page it carried an editorial by David Courtney (Elston) that truth is stronger than TNT.

I got married soon after the bombing, but my wife, Dana, and I never even thought of a honeymoon. We joined the other young Jewish residents of Jerusalem on guard duty the day after our wedding. My post was at Schmidt's College, overlooking what is today

Independence Park, and Dana watched the same area from 45 King George, the sixth story of the Halbreich building.

During the War of Independence, *The Post* appeared daily, despite the bombardment and the frequent electric breakdowns. Once, on the night of a particularly heavy bombardment, a stenciled edition was issued.

During the actual fighting, distribution was most difficult. Once I joined Ya'acov Rabia, our brave and tireless driver, on his nightly attempt to carry the *Post* to Tel Aviv and from there to the rest of the country. He and other *Post* distributors frequently risked their lives to deliver the paper.

Meanwhile, there were almost no advertisements and the financial losses were staggering.

The editorial room was in shambles, newly laid telephone and electricity wires hung loose from the ceiling. Shelves containing reference books and archives box files had all their fronts burned out.

We were highly fortunate that the heavy rotary press situated below the street level was still working. The Ahava Press was but 100 meters away and they offered to let us use their linotypes at night, so I frequently set up type there and then ran with still hot columns to the main building. Then *Ha'aretz* sent us a brand-new linotype and thus we were able to produce a small four-page newspaper daily, adding another two pages on Friday. Even so, we were desperately short of equipment.

A long line of visitors used to call at the *Post* daily. The partly burned-out building became once more a meeting point of all those eager for the latest news.

On one occasion, while going to my omeu post at Notre Dame monastery, I entered the empty Generali Building, once held by Palestinian Police, and found on the floor a number of discarded maps and files, all stamped top secret. I had no time to examine them more closely, so I took

them to Agron to dispose of as he saw fit. He was sitting behind his desk, always eager for any contact, any however scarce information. I never did find out what he did with them.

The first and the second truce followed, then the Burma Road connected the beleaguered city with the rest of the country and life slowly returned to normal. The sporadic sniping, infiltration and sabotage continued, but we already knew that the worst - the shortages of arms, food and ammunition - was over.

ADDITIONAL MACHINERY started coming in slowly (second-hand linotypes in rather poor condition). The *Post* had grown in size, but Jerusalem was still a border town and the advertising revenue was negligible. Nevertheless, we were full of hope, we even agreed to a voluntary cut in salary so the *Post* could hire new immigrants.

The immigrants came directly from outlying *ma'abarot* (transit camps) and spent their first nights sleeping on the press floor waiting for the Jewish Agency to transfer them to the Talpilot ma'abara. The Jerusalem *Post* Press started, once again to print various books and journals in foreign languages in addition to the *Post*.

It took the press many years, however, to reach that degree of efficiency of which it was so proud before the explosion. And, by that time, the new inventions of cold print and dry offset made the earlier, traditional printing techniques totally obsolete.

In 1968, I accompanied Lurie on a visit to the Chicago Printing Exhibition. At the exhibition, we walked miles and miles noting new inventions.

The *Post* finally bought the Goss Offset Printing Press, a giant step towards a larger and better illustrated newspaper. At Lurie's suggestion, I visited a number of US newspapers to learn more about cold-print photosetting.

Upon my return, Lurie arranged a meeting of all *Post* workers and I told them about the coming typesetting revolu-

tion. Most linotype operators just shrugged their shoulders.

"Not in our time," was their almost uniform opinion.

Lurie proved them wrong in no time. Photosetting replaced linotypes over the next few years, but unlike other newspapers, the *Post's* conversion to cold print and the subsequent computerization went quite smoothly.

By then the *Post* and the Jerusalem Press (which had been bought by the *Post*) had outgrown the premises at Hassolei Street and planned to move to a much larger building in Romema. As a press foreman at the time, I am proud that we completed the move on schedule and without problems.

After 30 years, the hard work and the heavy responsibility of the daily newspaper production began to wear on me. Therefore, I was quite relieved when in 1975 the executive editor, Ari Rath, suggested that I reorganize the newspaper's archives and create a modern information center.

I found my new job most interesting. The center was, as in my father's press days, an anchor, a meeting place for our own staff and the numerous journalists, students, professors and politicians researching Middle Eastern, Palestinian and Israeli history. Our files covered personalities, subjects, organizations and places in a manner which no directory, guide or encyclopedia could.

I also started writing biographies and obituaries of prominent people, in addition to frequent book reviews and articles of general interest.

Today, Nina Kerem-David runs the center, which by taking advantage of CD-ROM and Internet, is one of the most advanced information facilities in the Middle East.

Though I retired in 1985, I continue to take care of the old clipping archives part-time.

Fifty years are a very long time, and looking back I feel that I have been rather fortunate, for I have worked among my own people who have helped me along the way.

Basic Laws enhance human rights

LAW REPORT
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals... before the president, Justice Aharon Barak, former president, Meir Shamgar, and justices Dov Levin, Gavriel Bach, Eliezer Goldberg, Elyahu Mazza, Mishael Cheshin, Yitzhak Zamir and Zevi Tal, and in the matters of the United Mizrahi Bank Ltd., and others, appellants, versus Migdal Cooperative Village and others, respondents C.A. 6821/94, L.A.(C) 1908/94 and 3363/94.

THREE creditors took action in District Court to challenge the Agricultural Family Sector Arrangements Law of 1986 and the Law amending it in 1993, submitting that they deprived creditors of relief usually available through the courts. The Laws therefore violated section 3 of the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, forbidding violation of a person's property, they said.

The respondents argued that the Arrangements Law complied with section 8 of the same Basic Law, which states, "There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a Law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than required."

Justice Shamgar, in a wide-ranging analysis, concluded that while the Arrangements Law violates the property rights mentioned in section 3, it did meet the conditions set out in section 8. Justice Barak, after his own exhaustive analysis, reached the same conclusion.

JUSTICE LEVIN referred to his judgment in the Clal Insurance case (H.C.726, 878/94) dealing with many of the same issues.

He agreed with Justice Barak that the Knesset was empowered to enact constitutional legislation, following what was laid down in the Declaration of Independence. He agreed that the above Basic Law and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation had enhanced human rights here.

He held it was for the person alleging a violation of the rights accorded in the Dignity and Freedom Basic Law to prove his case. He disagreed, in this context, with a presumption raised by Justice Goldberg that the state had acted according to law.

He was satisfied there had been a violation of creditors' rights to property, but held that the conditions in section 8 of the Basic Law had been fulfilled.

JUSTICE ZAMIR was of the opinion that the constitutional "revolution" already started with the judgment in the Bergman case (H.C.98/69, Selected Supreme Court Judgments [English], Vol. VIII, p. 13), in which

the court recognized the requirement of a special number of votes for enacting a law.

He also warned against the court dealing with constitutional issues not involving concrete disputes requiring solution. In his view, the Knesset was empowered to bind itself as to the future. He hesitated to rule what was a person's "property" under section 3 of the Basic Law: Dignity and Freedom, but he agreed that the fulfillment of the conditions in section 8 of that Basic Law was a question of degree.

He agreed with Justice Barak's summary, in so far as it was relevant to matters requiring a decision in this judgment.

JUSTICE CHESHIN dealt with the Knesset's power to bind itself with special provisions, trading developments since the establishment of the state, and challenged the Knesset's powers as accepted by his colleagues.

He disagreed with describing the above Basic Laws as "revolutionary," but he did regard any laws relating to human rights as of particular significance.

He questioned the wisdom of empowering all courts to pronounce on the validity of Knesset legislation, suggesting that such power should be reserved for the Supreme Court sitting as a High Court of Justice.

He agreed that a Knesset Law should prima facie be regarded as valid. In any event, the amended Arrangements Law met the conditions in section 8.

JUSTICE GOLDBERG agreed that the two Basic Laws, both as to their content and their legal status, stand above ordinary legislation.

He also agreed that the term "property" in section 3 above includes a person's contractual rights. However, he reiterated the court's reluctance to interfere in economic matters, and counseled a careful approach in testing whether the conditions in section 8 have been fulfilled. In regard to the validity of the amended Arrangements Law, he held a Knesset statute must prima facie be presumed to be valid.

JUSTICE MAZZA agreed with Justice Barak's summary. He also agreed that the Knesset, as the supreme legislature, is empowered to initiate constitutional legislation in addition to its ordinary powers.

He also agreed that "property" includes a debtor's obligations, but he supported Justice Zamir's warning to the court to tread carefully when dealing with oc-

creditors to show that the Amending Law violated their rights, and that the conditions in section 8 were not fulfilled.

Subject to the above comments, he agreed with Justice Barak's summary.

JUSTICE TAL found it unnecessary to deal with questions of principle relating to the Knesset's powers. He adhered to his opinion in the Clal Insurance case that Basic Laws enjoyed a special status, and were to be a guide in construing ordinary legislation.

He agreed with Justice Mazza as to the burden of proof under section 8 of the Basic Law.

IN THE result, the appeal in C.A.1908/94 was dismissed, and those in L.A. (C) 1908 and 3363/94 were remitted to the District Court for further hearing.

The judgment was delivered on November 11, 1995. This is the second of two parts.

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Lack of international organization leads to environmental dumping

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

ONE of the greatest problems resulting from the growth in environmental awareness is that there is no international coordination. Each country enters the new world of environmental protection at its own pace, and this is reflected in the laws they enact.

This has led to an almost disastrous state of confusion and, even worse, has opened the door to those who are far more concerned with monetary gain than environmental protection. For many such individuals, companies and countries this disparity of awareness and legislation simply opens a door to exploitation.

The worst form of this exploitation is environmental dumping. The industrialized nations - desperate to rid themselves of toxic waste - are looking for and finding places in the less developed

world to deposit this dangerous material. International bodies have tried, usually in vain, to deal with this problem.

But dumping is not just a matter of waste products. There is also a form of economically orchestrated dumping that is far more dangerous. Today, countries around the world, denied a local market for environmentally dangerous products, are actively seeking and finding markets where the legislation is less prohibitive.

Pesticide companies in the US, western Europe and Israel still produce materials banned at home but welcome in countries of the Third World.

But Israel too, because of a lack of legislation, is not only a dumper of pesticides but a dumper for many other products. While most Israeli companies have virtually eliminated CFCs as a propellant, the country is inundated with European and American products propelled by CFCs and banned in their country of origin.

Some sort of international agreement must emerge that will no longer allow even the production, much less the sale, of environmentally harmful agents.

This is not a simple matter. But the simple fact is that without some sort of international consensus there can be no real improvement of the environment. Local gains are all well and good, but does it really help you if your next-door neighbor is polluting the very world in which you live?

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<p>6. SEA OF GALILEE - 22 songs praising the beauty of the Kinneret - Sing to Me Kinneret, And Perhaps, Galilee Night, My Home Facing the Golan, etc. With Gali Atari, Hanan Yovel, and others.</p> 	<p>8. HOME, HOME ON THE KIBBUTZ - 20 songs about the kibbutz and its special way of life, about the land and work, and hopes and legends that were born around the campfire. With Gevraton, Netanel, David Zakai and others.</p> 	<p>9. SEA OF GALILEE - 22 songs praising the beauty of the Kinneret - Sing to Me Kinneret, And Perhaps, Galilee Night, My Home Facing the Golan, etc. With Gali Atari, Hanan Yovel, and others.</p> 

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 1996

Tadiran, IDF sign \$80m. deal

RACHEL NEIMAN

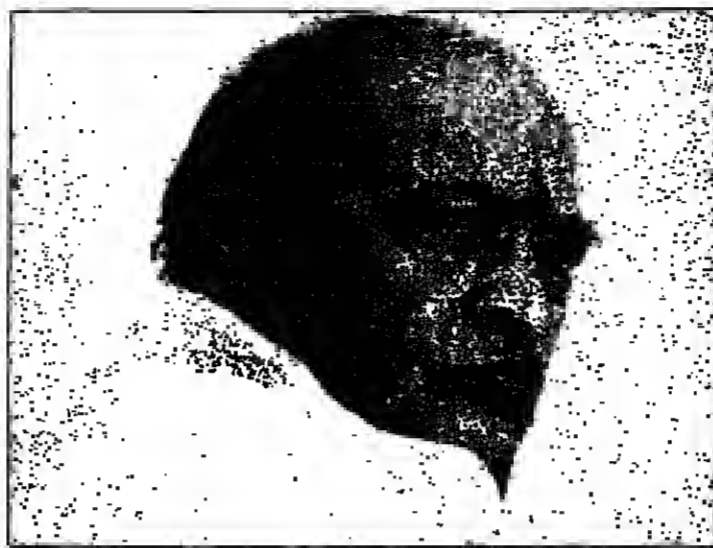
TADIRAN announced yesterday it has signed a \$80 million contract to supply new generation communications equipment to the IDF. The value of the contract was originally announced in July as \$50m. but increased due to the addition of a completely integrated software/hardware package. Tadiran said the contract would assist in competing for other international contracts. The contract includes primary communications equipment, support systems and laboratories, a logistics package, and instructional systems. The new communications systems will replace those developed by Tadiran for the IDF in the 1960s and will be used in tanks, armored personnel carriers and other vehicles. Tadiran says the system is low maintenance, has been tested for

several thousand hours of problem-free operation and has surpassed all quality and reliability requirements. A new production line for the system has been planned as part of Tadiran's overall reorganization into market sectors, which is scheduled for this year. The public issues of both Tadiran's communications and batteries divisions are scheduled for this year. The closed signing ceremony took place last week at Tadiran's offices and was attended by Chief Communications and Electronics officer Avihu Diskelman; head of purchasing for the Defense Ministry Haim Adar; Tadiran chairman and Koor general manager Benny Gaon; Tadiran general manager Israel Zamir and Tadiran Communications and Systems general manager Benny Meidan.

Bezeq wins cellular phone contract in India

JUDY SIEGEL, JENNIFER FRIEDLIN and news agencies

IN what appears to be a partial coup, Bezeq has won a lease to build cellular phone infrastructure in India's Gujarat district as part of a consortium in which it holds a 16 percent stake, company spokesman Ron Mandelbaum said yesterday. Bezeq has transferred \$7.66 million "as a down payment for the lease," which will allow the company to install 350,000 cellular phone lines in the region within 10 years, said Mandelbaum. The district, on the western coast of India, has 41.2 million residents and only 660,000 phone lines. The Indian-Thai-Israeli consortium has established in India a company called Fascal, which received rights from the Indian government to carry out this work. Fascal intends to invest \$108m.



Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao: His cabinet approved privatization plan in 1994. (AP)

Regard contracts to supply conventional phone infrastructure, Bezeq is still waiting for an official announcement from the Indian government. A consortium in which Bezeq is a major member recently won a tender to build phone infrastructure in three districts, but government opposition has caused delays in implementation, Mandelbaum said. The delays underscore the political wrangling that continues to threaten both Bezeq's and other company's bids. India's telephone privatization program faces its highest test this week as the Supreme Court considers whether to stop the multi-billion dollar symbol of economic reform in its tracks. The court set a hearing for tomorrow to take up a set of petitions challenging the government's ambitious but embattled program to end the state's telecommunications monopoly. However, the court is not expected to issue a ruling tomorrow. Chief Justice A.M. Ahmadi has said a judgment would be rendered as soon as possible, which legal experts and telecommunications industry officials speculated meant before the end of January. Before reaching the court, the privatization program was well

on its way to completion. It cleared Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's cabinet in 1994 and got started last year. The plan to end the state monopoly has broad support in a country where fewer than one citizen in 100 has a telephone. But the basic phone program has been bogged down in political and legal wrangling, which some industry executives say could threaten the entire process. Last month the court ordered the government to put a hold on awarding any licenses to firms to operate basic telephone services, the backbone of the program, until it ruled on the seven petitions. The court's stay came at the height of an opposition protest which all but paralyzed parliament during its month-long session in December. Opposition lawmakers accused the government of favoring one firm and bungling the program. After an initial tender last year, the government chose the winners in five of the country's 20 zones. Only six firms bid for five regions which were on the auction block earlier this month, passing up the chance to buy licenses for eight other zones. Industry officials said the parliamentary outcry and uncertainty coalesced to the Supreme Court decision discouraged bid-

ders, which decided to stay on the sidelines. The foreign companies were particularly irritated at the government's decision last year to impose a minimum, or reserve, price for the licenses and to limit the number of zones any consortium could control to three. The decision was announced after the first round of bidding, triggering charges the government had favored HFCL Bezeq Telecom Ltd, which emerged as the highest bidder in nine regions by offering \$25 billion - \$15b. more than all others combined. The petitions before the Supreme Court tackle three major issues, including the privatization policy and the absence of a telecommunications regulatory authority. Legal experts said the court would likely side with the government in these areas. The third, and crucial, issue relates to charges the government favored HFCL Bezeq and passed up a chance to pocket far more money in license fees by allowing the consortium to choose the three zones it would control. If the court rules against the government in this area, it could force the program to start over again, lawyers said. However, Bezeq officials are optimistic the government's response will continue to be positive.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Tapud to become Nando's sole french fry provider: Tapud will become fast food chain Nando's sole provider of french fries. Tapud, which also supplies french fries to Burger King and Burger Ranch, said it expects NIS 1 million in annual revenues from the deal. Rachel Neiman

Standard and Poor's to publish guide on local companies: Standard and Poor's will publish a guide on local companies traded on both the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange and abroad. Information will be available both electronically via satellite to 800 banks worldwide and via Internet. This is the first time S&P has issued a publication on the local market. Those interested in the guide should contact Yair Marfish at 03-697-9666. Rachel Neiman

Most business prefer mortgages at fixed interest rate: A Bank Tefahot survey reveals that 63% of businesses prefer to take out mortgages at a predetermined fixed interest rate when buying office space or other property. Of those businesses surveyed, 12% prefer to take mortgages with interest adjustments (either up or down) every 2.5 years and 11% preferred interest adjustments every five years. Rachel Neiman

Leon Plast to set up factory in Galilee: Plastic bag manufacturer Leon Plast of Haifa will set up a \$5 million factory in the Galilee. The company recently acquired a \$1m. production line capable of producing one million bags daily. Rachel Neiman

Indigo: Operating loss will be offset

RACHEL NEIMAN

INDIGO's larger than expected fourth quarter operating loss will be offset by the recognition of a \$15 million non-cash deferred revenue. The company announced in October it expected over \$13 million in operating losses for both the 1995 third and fourth quarters. Third quarter net losses were \$14.55 million, compared with net losses of \$2.9m. in the same period in 1994. Quarterly revenues rose to \$42m. from \$24.16m. At that time, Indigo said restructuring costs would be between \$3m. and \$5m. in the fourth quarter. Last week, Indigo announced that in late December it arranged to place \$20m. in common shares with an affiliate of the Soros group and a company owned by a

trust of which Landa and his family are the chief beneficiaries. The purchase price was \$10.53 per share. The purchase by the Soros group is subject to the expiration or termination of a waiting period. As a result of this purchase, various entities related to the Landa family will own 72.6% and the Soros group will own 17.9% of Indigo shares. "This investment represents the continuing commitment of Indigo's principal shareholders to the company and its technology," Landa said. "Furthermore, the company expects to raise additional funds during the first half of 1996." Although unit shipments will be substantially lower than recently expected, Landa admitted, "we are encouraged by indications of increased utilization of Indigo presses by our current customer base and repeat orders by existing customers."

Meta predicts \$1.9b. turnover for info technologies market

RACHEL NEIMAN

CONSULTANCY Meta group forecasts a \$1.94 billion turnover for the country's information technologies market this year.

"A fax for you"
All you want to know about your accounts, on your fax, within 15 minutes.
15 minutes and you're gone...
ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

Hardware sales in 1996 will reach \$722m. and software sales \$371m., Meta reported. Software imports are expected to reach \$200m. and software exports \$232m. At the end of last year, there were 600,000 personal computers used in the home market. That number is expected to double by the end of the year.

Ministry probes Pelephone for misleading advertising

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

THE Industry and Trade Ministry is investigating Pelephone Communications for allegedly publishing misleading advertisements. Deputy Industry and Trade Minister Masha Lubelsky said yesterday. Pelephone violated advertising laws by failing to include VAT in the prices advertised in newspapers and billboards promoting

their Andiovox cellular phone, Lubelsky said. Company spokeswoman Ayelet Gradman said Pelephone's advertising campaign did not break any laws. "We have no idea what the ministry is talking about," said Gradman. "Our advertisements say that the prices do not include VAT and they are published according to the law."

According to Lubelsky, laws regarding advertising for goods and services require advertisers to print prices in shekel amounts and to include all taxes imposed on the goods in the stated price. Pelephone has been asked to halt the questionable advertisements immediately.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patrah (foreign currency deposit rates) (8.1.96)

Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.750	4.825	4.825
Pound sterling (£100,000)	4.500	4.500	4.500
German mark (DM 200,000)	2.250	2.125	2.375
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.250	0.250	0.375
Yen (10 million yen)			

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (5.1.96)

CURRENCY AND TRANSFERS	BUY		SELL		Rep. Rates*
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	3.6312	3.5882	3.65	3.20	3.5814
U.S. dollar	3.1050	3.1501	3.05	3.20	3.1330
German mark	2.1450	2.1257	2.11	2.22	2.1822
Pound sterling	4.8128	4.8805	4.73	4.98	4.8583
French franc	0.2278	0.2378	0.21	0.23	0.2300
Japanese yen (100)	2.8587	3.0344	2.90	3.05	2.9822
Dutch guilder	1.9188	1.9498	1.88	1.93	1.9350
Swiss franc	2.0944	2.2774	2.01	2.25	2.0952
Swedish krona	0.4885	0.4781	0.46	0.49	0.4725
Norwegian krona	0.4878	0.4885	0.47	0.51	0.4815
Danish krona	0.5598	0.5648	0.54	0.58	0.5801
Finland mark	0.7152	0.7257	0.69	0.74	0.7178
Canadian dollar	2.2871	2.3240	2.24	2.36	2.3072
Australian dollar	2.3005	2.3407	2.28	2.33	2.3226
S. African rand	0.8538	0.8887	0.77	0.87	0.8834
Belgian franc (10)	1.0458	1.0527	1.02	1.05	1.0538
Austrian schilling (10)	3.0548	3.1041	3.00	3.15	3.0797
Italian lire (1000)	1.9983	1.9961	1.93	2.03	1.9810
Jordanian dinar			4.27	4.58	4.301
Egyptian pound			0.88	0.96	0.9712
EU	3.8773	4.0415	3.87	4.11	4.0083
Irish punt	4.9598	5.0588	4.87	5.11	5.0354
Spanish peseta (100)	2.2512	2.2894	2.20	2.33	2.2705

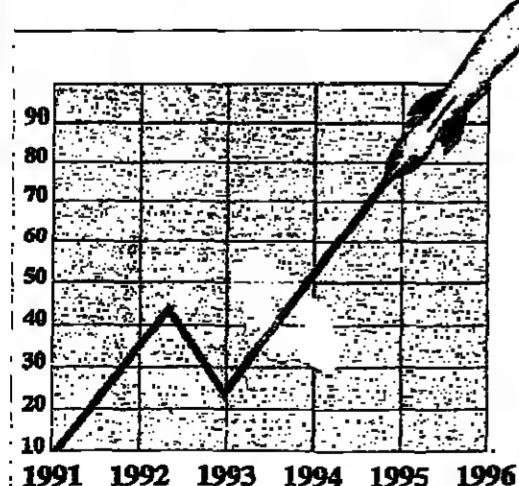
* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel. SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

BEZEQ - The Israel Telecommunication Corp. Ltd.

Bids are invited for the supply of goods, as detailed below:
Tender 89/96/551/0
TELEPHONE WIRES - Long term agreement

The following general conditions apply:
The supply agreement will be for one year, with the option to extend for an additional 3 years.
1. Pre-conditions
a. Compliance with all laws, and including the keeping of account books, registration as a registered trader, the possession of the necessary licenses, and compliance with standard specifications.
b. The provision of a guarantee, to ensure the provision of the goods offered in the bid - as detailed in the tender form.
2. The tender documents can be obtained from the Buying Section, Tenders and Orders Dept., 18 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem (Room 609), Tel. 02-395614/5, Sunday - Thursday, 9 a.m. - 12 noon.
The documents will be supplied, against submission of a receipt, showing that payment of NIS600 has been made, as follows:
In Israel: A deposit into Bezeq's account at the Postal Bank, No. 5-311757.
Abroad: A deposit into Bezeq's account at the Jerusalem central branch of Bank Leumi Leisrael, No. 12-901-6763/64. The tender documents fee is non-refundable.
The receipt may be submitted, together with details of the supplier, including his registered trader's number, to Fax 972-2-378113. Receipt of the fax transmission should be confirmed, by calling 972-2-395614/5.
3. Bids must be in the tenders box, which is at 18 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem, not later than 6 p.m. on February 20, 1996.
4. No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid, or to order all the goods from one supplier.
Bids submitted by fax or by telegram will not be considered.

Is the January Effect Affecting You?



History has shown that in January, the market tends to rise markedly as a result of bargain hunters looking for quality stocks on sale. The "January Effect" is just one of the fluctuations that can catch an investor by surprise. A well-planned portfolio, though, can help an investor profit from market volatility.

Begin this year by talking to CommStock's experienced, U.S.-licensed professionals about strategies for safe, profitable investing. For a portfolio analysis, call Douglas Goldstein, Director of our Securities Division, at (02) 244963.

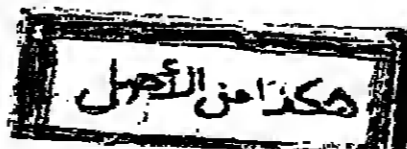
CommStock Trading Ltd.
Jerusalem: City Tower, 34 Ben Yehuda. Tel. 02-344-963; Fax. 02-244-876 Ramat Gan: Beit Silver, 7 Ahba Hillel, Tel. 03-575-8826/27

PRIME 0001
Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date:	4.1.96
Purchase Price:	108.59
Redemption Price:	107.14

(0001) TARGET 0001
Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date:	4.1.96
Purchase Price:	146.41
Redemption Price:	144.33



Key Representative Rates

US dollar	NIS 3.1330	Change
Sterling	NIS 4.8963	---
Mark	NIS 2.1662	---

'UK arms firms plotted against Saudi dissident to protect deal'

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain's biggest arms companies stood accused over the weekend of working with government ministers and spy agencies to silence a Saudi dissident whose activities risked undermining huge defense deals with Riyadh.

The claims by the *Guardian* newspaper, based on a leaked report by the chief executive of defense firm Vickers, followed Britain's decision to deport opposition leader Mohammed Masari to protect trade with Saudi Arabia.

Vickers is bidding for a tank contract with Riyadh as part of the multi-billion pounds al-Yamamah deal signed in the mid-1980s.

In a separate report, the *Independent* revealed that Britain's newly-appointed ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Andrew Green, is a non-executive director of Vickers.

Masari, 49, has waged a relentless campaign against Saudi Arabia, arriving in Britain through Yemen last year. He has accused the Saudi royal family of corruption and called for a peaceful transition to Islamic rule.

Vickers acknowledged this week that it had warned the British government of the threat posed to its contracts by Saudi anger over Masari's activities.

The *Guardian* document reveals that Britain passed to Saudi Arabia secret intelligence on Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein last year to calm Saudi anger over Masari.

The three-page internal memo written by Vickers chief executive Sir Colin Chandler also refers to "direct Saudi intervention" against the activist and attempts to "stifle him personally."

Vickers has declined to comment on the leak.

The memo described a discussion between Chandler and British Aerospace chief executive Dick Evans, who reported anxiety in the CIA about the impact of Masari's campaign.

British Aerospace had also been studying ways of trying to stop Masari sending his material into Saudi Arabia through the world-wide Internet computer system.

In another passage, Chandler writes: "Direct Saudi intervention against him [Masari] could be difficult... because he is the son of a leading cleric in the kingdom."

Masari has been given 10 days to appeal against the British deportation order. The Caribbean island of Dominica has agreed to accept him, but Masari has no connections there.

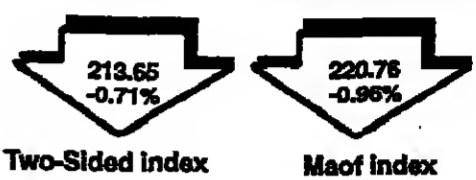
Former British armed forces minister Sir Archie Hamilton defended the government's decision, saying it was right to put national interests first.

"My understanding of it is the Saudis were making it quite clear that there would be no order for these tanks so long as he [Masari] remained in London," he said.

Shares fall on inflation fears

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

FELICE MARANZ



Two-Sided Index Maof Index

SHARES fell after five days of gains amid concern that increasing inflation, boosted by tax increases, will prevent the Bank of Israel from reducing interest rates.

Leading the declines, Teva Pharmaceuticals fell three percent, following a drop in Teva's American Depository Receipts traded in New York.

Investors were concerned that Teva's multiple sclerosis treatment Copaxone may encounter difficulty in receiving approval from the US Food and Drug Administration, traders said.

The Maof Index fell 0.96 percent to 220.76, and the Two-Sided Index dropped 0.71% to 213.65.

Of 1,011 issues trading across the exchange, some six shares rose for every five that fell.

Some NIS 104.5 million worth of shares traded, NIS 30.4m. below last Thursday's level and NIS 8.4m. below last week's average trading level.

Share prices fell as the cabinet voted to cut NIS 1.3 billion from its fiscal 1996 budget of NIS 172.8b, and the Finance Ministry decided to raise fuel prices 15 percent.

While the budget reduction and price hikes were designed to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit, they raised concern that inflation will increase.

"The Finance Ministry's plan wasn't taken so well by investors," said Itzik Winish, manager of Tel Aviv investment firm Capital Future Markets. "There weren't real budget cuts."

"The fuel price hike could bring about inflation," Winish said. "It will be hard for [Bank of Israel Governor Jacob] Frenkel to lower interest rates."

Other top issues with declines included Koor Industries Ltd., which fell 2.75%; Israel Chemicals Ltd., which fell 2%, and Bank Hapoalim, which fell 1%.

Bezeq dropped 0.75%, although it announced it had won a lease to supply cellular phone service in Gujarat, India.

Losses were offset by gains in oil companies, which soared after Israel National Oil Co. said it had found an oil stream at a pace of 30-40 barrels per hour in one of its wells. The company said it was continuing to carry out checks at the well. (Bloomberg)

China's automobile industry not hurt from reduction in import duties

Government to cut tariffs to average of 23% from April 1

BEIJING (Reuters) - China's tariff cuts on imported cars will not hurt domestic car manufacturers, which will remain protected from foreign competition, official media said yesterday.

Beijing has promised to cut import tariffs on 4,000 items from April 1 this year to an average of 23 percent.

It has not yet given a complete list of the items nor said officially if the import tariffs on vehicles will be lowered.

"Reliable sources said the cuts are likely to be made on cars but will not be so big as to trigger floods of imports to squeeze out domestic products," the *China Daily* said.

Last week, Beijing said it had scrapped the need for import permits and quotas on motor vehicle chassis equipped with engines as of December 31, 1995.

Items for which import permits were no longer required included air-conditioners without cooling units, vehicle bodies, except for sedan cars, axles and differentials, it said.

Current import tariffs on cars are more than 100% and thousands of cars are smuggled in.

In the first 11 months of 1995, China had legal imports of 137,544 vehicles, down from 248,490 in the same 1994 period, customs figures show.

Imports fell because of a tight credit policy and a slump in domestic prices, the *China Daily* said.

Prices would continue to fall in 1996 as Chinese automakers plan to boost output, and local governments are expected to jack up taxes and fees on vehicles to raise money for infrastructure projects and alleviate worsening traffic congestion, it said.

Volkswagen's joint venture in Shanghai, China's largest producer of passenger cars, plans to make 220,000 vehicles in 1996, up from 160,000 in 1995, it said.

Foreign carmakers who want to increase their share of a fast growing market are waiting eagerly to learn if their products are among the 4,000 and, if so, how big the cuts will be.

Economists said the cuts would not be enough to make it more economic for foreign makers to abandon plans to produce in China and rely instead on exports from their own home countries.

In all 1995, China produced 1.5 million vehicles, up from 1.402 million in 1994, the *Economic Information Daily* said.

China's vehicle industry cannot compete with foreign producers because of low quality, backward technology, scattered production, heavy reliance on imports for components and poor design capability, the newspaper said.

All this means that, even when China has entered the World Trade Organization (WTO), its "kindergarten" vehicle industry will continue to need protection, it said.

China wanted to enter the WTO when it was set up in January 1995.

But it was unable to join because of objections from WTO members over lack of market access, inadequate protection of intellectual property and other issues.

Negotiations on its WTO entry continued during 1995.

China wants to turn its auto industry into one of the pillars of the national economy. It plans to invest 279.7 billion yuan (\$33.7 billion) in the sector over the 1996-2000 plan period, the *Economic Information Daily* said.

This would double its share of total industrial investment to 4% from 2% in the 1991-95 plan period. The biggest share of the cash would go into making passenger cars.

Comex gold rallies

COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

COMEX gold rallied early on Friday, supported by the US budget impasse and government shutdown, but profit taking prevented prices from reaching the key \$400.00 per ounce level, leaving the February contract to close \$1.10 higher at \$396.50 an ounce.

Comex silver also experienced a rally on Friday morning and managed to hold on to most of its gains, causing a sharply higher close on the March contract of \$5.55 an ounce, up 14.0 cents.

In a correction of its recent slide, Comex copper closed with higher gains on Friday, with the March contract up 3.25 cents at 117.05 cents per pound.

The general feeling is that the market has not yet bottomed out, as LME stocks hit record one-year highs and are expected to continue rising.

Bullish export commitment reports on Friday morning, as well as continued dry weather in the corn-growing areas, boosted Chot corn prices in volatile trading.

However, reports of rain in South America finally pressed the market to close lower with the March contract down 2 1/2 cents at \$3.66 1/2 per bushel.

Fund liquidation pushed Chot March wheat futures to close 6 1/2 cents a bushel lower at \$4.93 1/2 on Friday.

The market failed to gain support from a report that Egypt had purchased 650,000 tonnes of soft red winter wheat, because sale prices were low and discouraging.

Soybean futures traded lower on reports of expected rainfall in South America - mainly in Brazil and Argentina.

Demand strengthened as export commitments jumped higher than expected, but failed to turn the market around.

January soybeans ended 3/4 cents a bushel lower at \$7.44 1/2. March was down five at \$7.53 1/2 per bushel.

Speculative buying boosted Nyc cotton prices on Friday, and the most active March contract closed up 0.28 cents at 83.63 cents a pound. May closed 0.10 cents higher at 82.90 cents a pound.

Fund and commission house buying pushed Csc world sugar prices to a nine-month high on the close on Friday.

Traders noted that the market remained fundamentally strong, with continued supply tightness in the first quarter of 1996.

The March contract closed up 0.17 cents to 11.89 cents a pound.

Csc arabica coffee futures closed lower on Friday in a choppy trading session, sources said.

Traders downplayed reports of bad weather in Latin America, which has helped to lift prices in recent days.

The March contract ended 1.60 cents per pound lower at 96.25. Courtesy of Michael Zwebner, ComStock Trading Ltd.

Germany sees growth in '96 at 2%

BONN (Reuters) - German Economics Minister Gertner Rexrodt said yesterday he expected the German economy to expand in 1996 at a relatively narrow rate of about two percent.

Rexrodt said in an interview with German Radio he did not foresee the economy brimming over during 1996 after the economy grew more hesitantly than expected last year.

"It will be at about 2%," Rexrodt said in the radio interview of expected growth for 1996.

Rexrodt's comments came after Germany's *Bild* newspaper reported during the weekend that German real economic growth in 1996 was expected to be at about 2% and the average number of unemployed workers would stay at about 6.5 million.

The mass-circulation daily, citing government estimates to be presented in a report in late January, said inflation was expected to remain stable at almost 2%.

Multi-sided trading				Two-sided trading			
Commodity	Price	Change	Volume	Commodity	Price	Change	Volume
Commercial Bank	100.00	0.00	100	Bank	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
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Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
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Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
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Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
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Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00	100
Residential	100.00	0.00	100	Residential	100.00	0.00	100
Commercial	100.00	0.00	100	Commercial	100.00	0.00	100
Industrial	100.00	0.00	100	Industrial	100.00	0.00</	

Mac. TA suffers State Cup loss to Rishon, 104-91

RICHARD ZAACKS

MACCABI Tel Aviv's recent woes continued last night as they were thrashed 104-91 by Maccabi Rishon LeZion in State Cup quarter-finals play last night.

The loss means Maccabi will have to overcome the 13-point deficit at Yehuda in the next round of play scheduled for February 21.

Bnei Herzliya recovered from their Korac Cup problems thanks to a three-point buzzer-beater by John Hudson to beat visiting Hapoel Eilat 90-89. Second division Maccabi Ra'anana surprised Hapoel Jerusalem 78-77 and Hapoel Galil Elyon beat Maccabi Netanya 77-64 in other quarterfinal action.

Maccabi Rishon LeZion 104 Maccabi Tel Aviv 91 Even though coach Ralph Klein's club had the halftime lead of 50-48, the outcome was never in doubt in the second half as Maccabi Rishon dominated from then on.

Maccabi once again experienced a defensive collapse as Klein's attempt to go to a smaller line-up in the second half fizzled. Tom Chambers scored 15 and Doron Jametie 21 for Maccabi, while Radisav Curic had 22, but Maccabi was again unable to stop an offensive onslaught.

James Gulley, who had 21 points, dominated inside and Oded Karash and Nadav Henefeld were never in the game in the second half. Brian Oliver led for Rishon with 31 points, while Alexander Nicolax scored 18 off the bench.

Bnei Herzliya 90, Hapoel Eilat 89 Eilat's disappointing season got even sadder when John Hudson hit his clock-beating shot to give Muli

Katzur's club the victory over the visiting southerners. Eilat opened strong, leading 12-0 after five minutes of play. But Lior Arititi and Amir Katz got Herzliya back on track to minimize Eilat's lead to 43-41 at halftime.

Eilat led throughout the entire second half and with 4:50 to go was up 79-73. However, Hudson and Katz cut Eilat's lead to 87-86 with 45 seconds remaining. Hudson tied it 87-all with 10 seconds left before Ari Rosenberg was fouled on a coast-to-coast lay-up with four seconds left. Rosenberg made both free throws, before Hudson's last shot won it.

Katz led Herzliya with 27 points and Arititi had 25. For Eilat, J.J. Eubanks scored 19 and Rosenberg 17.

Mac. Ra'anana 78 Hap. Jerusalem 77 Paul Thompson - who helped beat Jerusalem in similar fashion last season while with Bnei Herzliya - scored the winning basket in the final seconds to give second division Ra'anana the win.

Ra'anana started strong, opening with a lead of 13-6 after six minutes, but Jerusalem pulled ahead to make it 35-30 at halftime.

In the second half, Itzhik Cohen (19) and Moshe Agami caught fire and paved the way for a Ra'anana win. Norris Coleman led visiting Jerusalem with 22, and it is doubtful the one-point margin will hold up in Malha.

Hapoel Galil Elyon 77 Maccabi Netanya 64

Gali enjoyed an easy win over its second division opponent, in a game that couldn't even qualify as practice. Gali now looks sure of a place in the semifinals.

Andrew Kennedy led with 20, and Gur Shelef had 15. For Netanya, David Wilton had 25.



FAST MOVES - Newcastle's Peter Beardsley slides to intercept the ball from Chelsea's Eddie Newton yesterday. (AP)

Late Ferdinand equalizer saves Newcastle in FA Cup

LONDON (Reuters) - A dramatic equalizer from Les Ferdinand after three minutes of injury time earned Premier League leader Newcastle a 1-1 draw with Chelsea in the third round of the English FA Cup yesterday.

With Chelsea seconds away from its second 1-0 home triumph of the season against Newcastle, Ferdinand took advantage of a poor clearance from Chelsea goalkeeper Dmitri Kharin and fired through his legs from an angle to force the replay.

Until that moment, Chelsea seemed certain to make a 35th-minute goal from former Manchester United striker Mark Hughes stand up despite a withering late onslaught from Newcastle.

Cup holder Everton also faces a replay after being held to a 2-2 home draw by Second Division Stockport, which twice came from behind to draw level.

Leeds United fell behind 2-0 against First Division leader Derby County early in the second half but rammed home four goals for a 4-2 away triumph. Gary McAllister scored in the last minute of regulation time to put Leeds in front and Ghanaian striker Tony Yeboah added another in injury time.

Southampton of the Premier League, with Matthew Le Tissier back from a calf injury, beat First Division Portsmouth 3-0 in another third round match.

With the seconds ticking away in injury time, Kharin needed only to kick the ball way upfield to leave Chelsea safe. But he opted instead for a short pass out to a team mate.

It was intercepted by Belgian Philippe Albert who hocked the ball forward to Ferdinand and the big striker made no mistake to fire in the 23rd goal of his first season with Newcastle since his transfer from Queen's Park Rangers.

It rained a superb performance from Chelsea which for most of the match was the better team, as players repeatedly exposing chinks in the Newcastle defense.

Newcastle will be favored in the replay for it has won all 11 of its Premier League matches at its St. James' Park home this season.

Victory would earn it another visit to London to play QPR, Ferdinand's former club, in the fourth round.

Chelsea's lead was no more than it deserved after it dominated the early exchanges.

In the 35th minute, little England midfielder Dennis Wise wriggled free of his marker to hoist a long ball to Terry Phelan on the left wing. Phelan had plenty of space and time to hit a superb cross which Hughes headed home.

Chelsea had chances to increase its lead but it seemed to have weathered a late onslaught by the visitors until Kharin's misdirected clearance was cruelly punished by Ferdinand.

Everton was given the fright of its life by gallant Stockport, which for much of the second half had Everton fighting a desperate rearguard action.

Everton, without hamstring victim Duncan Ferguson, took the lead in the seventh minute through top scorer Graham Stuart.

Alan Armstrong equalized in the 31st minute before Gary Ablett gave Everton the lead again a minute before the interval.

The second equalizer came in the 61st minute from a brave diving header from Ian Hellwell.

Stockport had several good chances to get the winner but it will fancy the replay on its home ground.

Yesterday's results: Chelsea 1, Newcastle 1; Derby 2, Leeds 4; Everton 2, Stockport 2; Southampton 3, Portsmouth 8.

English FA Cup fourth round draw: Fulham or Barnsley v Liverpool; Charlton v Brentford; Ipswich or Blackburn v Watford; Bolton v Leeds; Queen's Park Rangers v Chelsea or Newcastle; Huddersfield v Peterborough; Coventry v Leicester or Manchester City; Millwall or West of Scotland; Reading v Manchester United or Sunderland; Swindon or Nottingham Forest v Millwall or Oxford; Southampton v Crewe; Swindon v Barnsley or Oldham; Everton or Stockport v Crystal Palace or Port Vale; West Ham v Grimsby; Arsenal or Sheffield United v Aston Villa; Bradford or Tottenham v Birmingham or Wolverhampton.

Sanders comes through for Dallas

IRVING (AP) - The Dallas Cowboys finally got their \$35 million worth out of Deion Sanders and danced right into their fourth straight NFC championship game.

Sanders, despite his \$250,000 per quarter salary, had little impact until yesterday, when he took a reverse 21 yards for a touchdown that broke a 3-3 tie at 4:35 of the second quarter. The Cowboys went on to beat the Philadelphia Eagles 30-11 and will try for their third Super Bowl trip in four years when they play Green Bay at home next Sunday.

The Eagles, who split regular-season games with the Cowboys, lost their spark early in the second quarter after quarterback Rodney Peete was knocked out of the game with a concussion. He was replaced by an ineffective Randall Cunningham.

Emmitt Smith made it 17-3 with a 1-yard TD run with 3:42 left in the half and the Eagles never recovered. Chris Boniol kicked three field goals and Troy Aikman hit Michael Irvin with a 9-yard TD pass in the fourth quarter.

The Cowboys have defeated the Packers six consecutive times, including two playoff games. The Packers beat Dallas 21-17 in that 1967 "Ice Bowl" game at Lambeau Field.

For the Eagles, 14-point underdogs, it was the end to an amazing year under coach of the year Ray Rhodes, who guided Philadelphia to a 10-6 regular season and a 58-37 rout of Detroit in the wild card round.

The win served as sweet vindication for Dallas coach Barry Switzer, who was criticized from coast-to-coast for his abortive fourth-and-1 call from his own 29 in a December 10 loss to the Eagles.

Switzer didn't have any tough calls this time except for fourth down at the Eagles' 1 and he called for the field goal. Dallas is 13-4 in Switzer's second season.

Sanders finally made a dramatic play for the Cowboys - and it came on offense. He got the ball from Aikman on a flanker reverse but discovered end Mike Mamula waiting.

Sanders, the fastest player in the NFL at 4.1 in the 40, quickly changed directions and got a block from Irvin and scored standing up. Sanders then gave the chilled fans a hot rendition of one of his old time prances.

It was his 14th NFL touchdown and the first time in his seven-year career he scored on a run from the line of scrimmage. It was the kind of play owner Jerry Jones dreamed about when he gave Sanders a \$13 million bonus to leave the 49ers.

For the day, Sanders ran for a touchdown, caught a pass, and intercepted a pass.

The second-quarter touchdown came after the clubs traded field goals, a 24-yarder by Boniol, and a 26-yarder by Gary Anderson.

Dallas made it 17-3 on a 79-yard drive in which Aikman completed a 37-yard pass to Kevin Williams and a 26-yarder to Daryl Johnston. Smith then scored from a yard out.

Peete, who had the flu to start with, was knocked wozy in a second-quarter collision with safety Darro Woodson. Cunningham missed practice all week because he was in Las Vegas, where he wife had a son.

Peete, who led the Eagles to a 20-17 win over Dallas on December 10 after trailing 17-6 at halftime, never returned to the game.

Brett Favre moved Green Bay with a victory of their first Super Bowl 1967 Saturday, throwing for touchdowns and leading Green Bay to victory.

Favre completed 21 of 28 passes for 299 yards, including 15 of 17 for 222 yards in the first half as the Packers took a 21-3 lead over host San Francisco. Favre was in such incredible form, he completed a 28-yard pass to Keith Jackson after slipping down as he was dropping back.

But Favre was aided by near-perfect defensive schemes devised by a coaching staff headed by former 49ers offensive coordinator Mike Holmgren.

The Packers last played in the NFL title game when the legendary Vince Lombardi was their coach and titles were as routine as they have been for the 49ers in the last 15 years.

The Packers (13-5) won the way the 49ers (11-6) have done so often, producing a quick score on a turnover - Craig Newsum's 31-yard fumble return - and rinning off to a 21-0 lead in the first 19 minutes.

The 49ers hardly looked like the machine they've so often been. Their best play in the first half, a Dexter Carter kickoff return that would have started them at the Packers' 39, was negated by an illegal block by Anthony Peterson.

Divisional playoffs (Saturday) Pittsburgh 40, Buffalo 21; Green Bay 27, San Francisco 17 (yesterday); Dallas 30, Philadelphia 11.

San Francisco at Kansas City Conference championship (Sunday, Jan. 14) Pittsburgh vs. K City-Indianapolis winner Green Bay at Dallas

Cavaliers snap Magic win-streak, 105-94

CLEVELAND (AP) - With Shaquille O'Neal sidelined by a sore thigh, Orlando's seven-game winning streak ended Saturday night as the Cleveland Cavaliers beat the Magic 105-94.

Chris Mills scored 23 points and Bobby Phillips 20 for Cleveland, which has won nine of its last 11 home games against Orlando.

The Magic were missing two starters. O'Neal, who suited up but did not play, was nursing a strained left quadriceps muscle; Nick Anderson sat out because of a sprained right toe. Dennis Scott led Orlando with

27 points, and Aofernce Hardaway scored 23.

The Magic trailed 55-51 at halftime and kept it close until midway through the fourth quarter, when Dan Majerle scored the last eight points of a 10-0 Cleveland run that put the Cavs ahead 95-80 with 6:15 to play.

Orlando got no closer than 10 after that.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS: Charlotte 96, Atlanta 90; Cleveland 105, Orlando 94; Detroit 90, Washington 82; Chicago 113, Milwaukee 84; Houston 99, Indiana 87; Miami 88, Denver 86; Sacramento 115, Golden State 104

Sheffer scores 15 in UConn's 73-52 victory over Miami

HARTFORD (AP) - Ray Alleo and Doroo Sheffer shook off sluggish starts and No. 7 Connecticut used big runs in each half to overcome Miami 73-52 in a physical matchup Saturday night.

Allen, who was hitting the front iron and even launched an uncharacteristic airball on a 3-point attempt in the first half, led the Huskies with 19 points to move up to No. 10 on the school's scoring list.

Sheffer, who followed Allen's airball with one of his own from the arc early in the first half, added 15 points and Kirk King had 11. Steven Edwards led Miami with 13 points and Steve Rich added 10.

The Huskies (12-1, 4-0 Big East), who found themselves trailing three times in the first 13 minutes against Miami (8-4, 2-2), used a 12-0 run late in the first half to come from behind and

take control for good. UConn won its 11 straight heading into today's showdown with eighth-ranked Villanova, which kept pace with UConn atop the Big East standings by beating No. 24 Boston College.

CONNECTICUT 73, MIAMI 52

King 4-10 3-3 11, Johnson 2-3 0-1 4, Knight 2-0 0-4, Sheffer 4-14 4-15, Allen 7-19 2-2 19, Hayward 0-1 0-0 0, More 1-3 2-2 4, Jones 3-4 3-9 9, Brynson 1-1 0-0 2, Carson 1-1 0-0 3, Huber 1-2 0-0 2, Totals 28-66 14-15 73.

Halftime - Connecticut 32, Miami 27. 3-Point goals - Miami 3-13 (Edwards 2-3, Clark 1-0, Norris 0-2, Fraser 0-3), Connecticut 7-17 (Allen 5-6, Sheffer 3-9, Carson 1-1, Jones 0-1). Fouled out - None. Rebounds - Miami 33 (James, Rich 6), Connecticut 42 (Knight, King 10). Assists - Miami 9 (Clark 3), Connecticut 15 (Allen 5). Total fouls - Miami 15, Connecticut 16. A - 14,294.

SPORTS BRIEFS

Sherf leaves Limoges
Zvi Sherf walked out as coach of the French's Limoges basketball team on Saturday night, apparently over a management dispute.

"Because of problems between Sherf and management, the sides have decided to go their separate ways," an official club announcement said.

Limoges, second in the French league with a 14-2 record, defeated Bnei Herzliya 91-83 in European Cup play Wednesday to go 4-2 in the final pool.

Sherf, who is also Israel's national team coach, has returned home and is currently taking a break. As Israel's top coach he will not have to wait long before considering a string of job offers which will undoubtedly come his way.

"I will definitely coach again, either here or abroad," Sherf told ETV's *Erev Hadash* news program yesterday.

Post Sports Staff

Faulk surgery successful
The Indianapolis Colts announced Saturday that running back Marshall Faulk underwent successful arthroscopic surgery Friday as doctors removed two loose particles from his left knee.

AP

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SITUATIONS VACANT

Tel Aviv

GENERAL

US offers Jordan 16 F-16 jets

ON LEVY and news agencies

US Defense Secretary William Perry offered Jordan a military package yesterday including 16 F-16 fighter-bombers.

Perry, speaking after a meeting with King Hussein, said the aircraft included 12 F-16A models and four F-16B models. All would be upgraded to current standards.

Perry said he was making good on a promise made in King Hussein during talks in September in Washington. The aircraft package includes spare parts, training and support.

"The offer has been made, and it has been accepted with deep appreciation," said King Hussein.

Perry described Jordan as one of Washington's oldest allies in the region and said the military cooperation would make their relationship even closer.

Perry arrived in Amman from Saudi Arabia as part of a Middle East tour, during which he has reiterated Washington's willingness to confront Iranian or Iraqi threats to US allies.

Bilateral and regional strategic cooperation are to be the main topics of Perry's agenda when he arrives here today for several hours to meet with Prime Minister and Defense Minister Shimon Peres and military officials. Officials will be particularly interested in his impressions from his visit to Jordan.

Issues relating to security arrangements on the Golan Heights and Israeli defense requests are not expected to be raised.

Perry will be greeted at Ben-Gurion Airport by Defense Ministry Director-General David Ivry, who will escort him to Jerusalem.

After a full military ceremony,

Perry and Peres will meet one-on-one. They will later be joined by Ivry, Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, the head of the Planning Branch, and other officials.

After this working meeting, Perry will meet President Ezer Weizman before leaving the country.

Earlier yesterday, in Riyadh, Perry called the Persian Gulf region a "vital national security interest," and said the US would continue its close military watch over Iraq to deter another Gulf war.

"It's always better to deter war than have to fight one," Perry said. "And that's our objective here."

Perry visited the air base in Riyadh, from which US warplanes fly up to 125 sorties a day over southern Iraq.

Air Force Maj.-Gen. Carl Franklin, commander of a joint military task force in the region, said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein remains a danger despite his defeat in the 1991 war. "We see Saddam as a threat today, and we see that threat for the foreseeable future," Franklin told reporters traveling with Perry.

The US warplanes that patrol the skies over southern Iraq seek out potential targets, such as anti-aircraft missile batteries, that would be among the first to be attacked in wartime.

Later, Perry went to the Saudi national guard training center, which was the scene of the November 13 bombing that killed seven people, including five Americans. Perry said that while the still-unsolved crime represented a tragic loss, it would have no impact on US policy in the Persian Gulf.



Dror Adani (khit skullcap), Haggai Amir (center), and Yigal Amir at yesterday's hearing in Tel Aviv District Court. (Yossi Zeiger/IFPA)

Dror Adani, Haggai Amir to be tried before panel of three judges

RAINE MARCUS

DROR Adani and Haggai Amir will be tried in front of a panel of three judges, headed by Judge Amnon Straschnov, Tel Aviv District Court Judge Judge Menahem Ilan ruled yesterday.

Usually three judges preside only in murder or attempted murder trials, but judges have the authority to rule that such panels hear cases involving offenses considered sufficiently serious.

Adani and Amir are charged with conspiring to murder prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, conspir-

ing to murder Arabs and to damage property, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition. Adani is also accused of plotting to kill terrorists released from prison as part of the Oslo accord.

Assassin Yigal Amir appeared in court together with his brother Haggai and Adani yesterday. He again blew kisses to his family and smiled while he was on sitting on the defendants' bench. Only

his sister and father were present in court. Amir quipped that he had thought of killing Rabin by booby-trapping his cellular phone.

Following his interjections, Ilan ordered him removed from the courtroom, while a hearing was held on a request to remand the other two defendants' until the completion of legal proceedings against them. His lawyer, Jonathan Guldberg, interve-

and said that both he and his client wished to hear proceedings, but Ilan refused to allow Amir to remain.

Prosecutor Penina Guy had requested that both Adani and Haggai Amir be remanded until the end of proceedings, arguing that if they were released, Prime Minister Shimon Peres's life might be endangered. Yigal Amir has already been remanded until trial.

Ilan postponed his decision until Wednesday.

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TIBERIAS: 04-7225/1 H. ESHOVAL: 08-4833/4
New Tel Aviv Airport: 07-3407/1

VALID 15/1/96 - 15/3/96

WEATHER

Jerusalem: 7-11
Tel Aviv: 11-17
Haifa: 12-17
Ashdod: 10-15
Be'er Sheva: 8-12
Eilat: 11-23
Dead Sea: 15-28

Forecast: Partly cloudy. Rain this morning in the central region.

AROUND THE WORLD

City	C	F	W	M	P
Amsterdam	00	32	04	30	rain
Berlin	02	46	28	03	rain
Bombay	18	64	28	02	clear
Chicago	48	49	10	09	clear
London	01	30	01	34	cloudy
Los Angeles	04	25	04	25	cloudy
Madrid	05	23	05	23	rain
Manila	20	68	02	45	rain
Paris	02	23	02	23	rain
Rome	02	23	02	23	rain
Tokyo	04	23	02	23	rain
Toronto	02	23	02	23	rain
Washington	02	23	02	23	rain
Zurich	02	23	02	23	rain

NEWS IN BRIEF

Customer scares off bank robbers
A man armed with a pistol foiled the attempted armed robbery of a Postal Bank in Gedera yesterday. Two masked men had been robbing the bank, with one of them pointing a gun at a teller, when a customer armed with a pistol walked in and asked them what they thought they were doing. They fled. About 50 minutes later, the Postal Bank in Gan Yavne was held up, with NIS 5,800 taken, apparently by the same pair.

Hefetz before Shamgar Commission
Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz was questioned yesterday by the Shamgar Commission and the lawyers for the seven GSS and police officials issued warning letters by the commission. The hearing lasted over six hours, forcing the postponement of the testimony of Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal.

Local geologist: Find natural gas
"Instead of spending billions of dollars on importing natural gas from Qatar, we would be better off spending several tens of millions of dollars on looking for the same gas here," geologist Dr. Baruch Drin said here yesterday. Drin maintains that while Israel may not be rich in oil deposits, it does have a large potential for natural gas.

WIZO campaign to target domestic violence
WIZO yesterday launched its 1996 fund-raising campaign, which aims to raise NIS 5.5 million to finance programs to combat domestic violence. In 1995, 3,000 women called the organization's hot lines for battered women, according to WIZO Israel chairman Helena Glaser. Of the 6,120 women who applied to WIZO's legal advice bureau last year, over a thousand were cases of domestic violence.

Rains boost Kinneret level by 10 cm.
Deputy director of the Lake Kinneret Authority Shlomo Bahaloui said the recent rains had boosted the level of the lake by 10 centimeters. "If January and February are rainy, we can expect a gradual and moderate rise in the level of the Kinneret. If what we hear is true and another rainy weekend is expected, then we may need another month and a half of serious rain before the level returns to normal," he said.

Three remanded for conspiring against Shahal

RAINE MARCUS

FOUR followers of Uzi Meshulam, suspected of conspiring to commit a crime against Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal, were arrested yesterday.

Three of them allegedly prowled around Shahal's Haifa home in the early hours of Friday morning. After they were spotted, they managed to flee by car and on foot.

One of the four, a minor, was released after questioning. The others - Moshe Ezer, 42, of Rishon LeZion; Avinoam Marhov, 30, of Rosh Ha'ayin; and Ilan Anaki, 22, of Moshav Bnei Aviyah - were remanded by Kfar Sava Magistrate's Court for seven days.

The three dejected prowling around Shahal's home and posing fliers against him. It is still not clear how they succeeded in penetrating security around Shahal's house, but security arrangements have since been beefed up.

Since the imprisonment of Meshulam and 11 followers, police have been concerned about reactions from his hordes of supporters.

Police intelligence sources have repeatedly said that there have been warnings of threats on the lives of senior police officers.

Russian Jewish Congress to be founded tomorrow

BATSHEVA TSUR

LEADERS of all the Jewish organizations in Russia will gather in Moscow tomorrow for the founding meeting of the Russian Jewish Congress.

They will be joined by Ministers Yossi Beilin and Rabbi Yehuda Amital, Chief Rabbi Eliahn Bakshi-Doroo, and 1,000 other guests from abroad, including US congressmen, representatives of the Jewish Agency and the Joint Distribution Committee, and influential Jews from 30 countries.

The congress, called by the chief rabbis of Russia and Moscow, is intended to serve as an umbrella organization that will provide educational, social, cultural, and welfare services for the Russian Jewish community.

During the three days of deliberations, plans will be made for the building of religious and educational institutions. Means of jointly combatting antisemitism and setting up a fundraising mechanism will also be discussed.

MARTIN GILBERT ATLASES

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OCCUPATION: NAZI HUNTER

The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust

The renewed interest in the efforts to prosecute the perpetrators of the Holocaust was sparked by revelations that Allied countries such as USA, UK, Canada and Australia had afforded a postwar haven to thousands of Nazi collaborators. Efraim Zuroff, director of the Israel Office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and coordinator of the Center's research on Nazi war criminals, discusses in his book how Nazi-hunting was revived in the seventies, how it was carried out in the eighties and whether it can continue in the nineties.

Foreword by Rabbi Marvin Hier.
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BAC and The One Tree Theatre Company present:

Checking the Moment

By Jack Shepherd / Janos Bruck - Director

The play is a brilliant study of the comic, sometimes violent tensions between people brought together only by a passion for jazz music. Set in a London jazz club. "A brooding, lyrical, stylish funny play, splendidly acted..." The Sunday Times

The performance will be in English

Winner of "Time-Out" award; best Fringe production 1995

Tel-Aviv, Suzanne Delfo Center - Wed., 17.1.96, 8:30 p.m.; Thu., 18.1, 8:30 p.m.; Fri., 19.1, 2 p.m., 10:00 p.m.; Sat., 20.1, 8:30 p.m. Sales - Suzanne Delfo: (03) 5105656, Hodor: (03) 5279955, 5279977; Tel-Aviv: (03) 5247373, Gosh: (03) 6044725; Haifa: (03) 5400351-2

Jerusalem, Jerusalem Theatre, Rebecca Crown Auditorium - Thu., 11.1.96, 8:30 p.m. Sat., 13.1.96, 8:30 p.m. Sales - Jerusalem Theatre: (02) 610011, Binot: (02) 2254061, Kalkin: (02) 256869

Haifa, Haifa Theatre, Mordechai He-Theatre (Ha-Hadash) - Mon., 15.1.96, 8:30 p.m. Sales - Haifa Theatre: (04) 620670, Garber: (04) 384777

Kfar-Sabbai, Heikhal Hahatufot Heizman - Tues., 16.1.96, 8:30 p.m. Sales - Heikhal Hahatufot: (09) 479230, Hahatufot: (03) 5400351-2

Be'erot, Wis Auditorium - Mon., 8.1.96, 8:30 p.m. Sales - Wis Auditorium: (08) 343332, Lohar: (08) 364979, 467890

Karmiel, Heikhal Hahatufot Heizman - Sun., 7.1.96, 9:00 p.m. Sales - Heikhal Hahatufot: (04) 9987941, Sharita David Heizman: (04) 9920330

Those with Discount Club cards can buy a pair of tickets for the price of one with 400 points. Number of places limited, due to limited supply. Discount of NIS 20 with the purchase of two tickets. Special offer sold at Tel-Aviv: (03) 5105656, 5279955, Jerusalem: (02) 610011. Haifa: (04) 620670, 384777. Kfar-Sabbai & Be'erot: (03) 5279955, Karmiel: (04) 9987951

